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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Further on Berlin Nuclear-Free Zones Meeting 1
Honecker, Ho Tam Confer *[ADN]* 1
Stoph Receives Nguyen Huu Tho *[Hanoi VNA]* 1
Fischer Meets Iranian Adviser *[Tehran IRNA]* 1
Sindermann Welcomes Legislators *[ADN]* 2
Officials Receive Other Guests *[ADN]* 2
Further Talks Noted *[ADN]* 3
Japanese Group Attends *[Tokyo KYODO]* 4
Honecker Delivers Speech *[ADN]* 4
Fischer Addresses Delegates *[ADN]* 5
Zhivkov Sends Message *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Jun]* 6
Bulgaria's Tanchev Speaks *[BTA]* 6
Polish Official Gives Speech *[PAP]* 7
SPD's Bahr Proposes Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* 8
FDP's Ronneburger Speaks *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jun]* 8
Iranian Warning on Chemical Arms *[Tehran IRNA]* 10
Lao Representative Cited *[ADN]* 11
Panel Discussion Held *[ADN]* 11
Honecker Closes Session *[ADN]* 12
Hungary's Szuros Reviews Meeting *[MTI]* 13
CSSR's Kempny 'Pleased' *[CTK]* 14
GDR's Tisch Speaks at World Labor Conference *[ADN]* 14
Hungary's Varkonyi Addresses UN Session *[NEPSZABADSAG 8 Jun]* 15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Balkan Foreign Ministries Conference Continues 17
SFRY Official on Expectations *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Jun]* 17
Mladenov Meets Delegation Leaders *[BTA]* 17

ALBANIA

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Interviewed on Balkans 18
Politburo Discusses Petroleum Industry *[ZERI I POPULLIT 14 Jun]* 18
Editorial Board Defends Righteous Workers *[ZERI I POPULLIT 12 Jun]* 20

BULGARIA

UN Deputy General Secretary Hinteregger Visits 22
Views East-West Relations 22
Addresses Foreign Policy Group 22
Meets Atanasov, Ends Visit 22
Schabowski-Led GDR Delegation Arrives 15 Jun *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Jun]* 23
Stoichkov Sees E. Berlin Mayor Krack 23
Cooperation Documents Signed 23
Tanchev Leads Delegation to East Berlin *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Jun]* 23

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Jakes Initiative 24
Jakes Addresses Peace Rally in Lisen *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun]* 24
Janak Receives Ukrainian Delegation Leader 27

Austria's Mock on Bilateral Relations *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jun]* 27
Stefanek Confers With PCF's Gremetz in Paris *[Bratislava PRAVDA 18 Jun]* 28
Jakes Receives L'HUMANITE Director 28
PRC Minister Wei Jianxing Pays Visit 28
Meets With Strougal 28
Departs 20 Jun *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jun]* 28
Mongolian Premier To Visit in July 28
Economic Talks With Peru Conclude 28
Hoffman Opens Party Secretaries Meeting 29
News Conference Held on New Economic Code 29
Rohlicek Discusses State Enterprises Law *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Jun]* 29

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Border Negotiations Held With Poland *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 22 Jun]* 34
Honecker Receives Argentine Presidential Envoy 34
Honecker Confers With Olympic Official 34
Fischer Meets With Arab League's Klibi 34
Lorenz Received by Greek Communist Leader 34
Data on Social Insurance Benefits Released *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18-19 Jun]* 34

HUNGARY

Man Sentenced for Smuggling Romanians 36
Action to Aid Romanian Refugees *[MAGYAR NEMZET 17 Jun]* 36
Peace Council Protests Romanian Measures 36
Journalists Protest Romanian Urbanization Plan 36
Workers' Guard Interviewed on Romanian Situation *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 13 Jun]* 37
Warsaw Pact's Kulikov Leaves 37
Nemeth Interviewed on Talks in U.S. 37
Nemeth Ends Visit to U.S., Comments on Talks 38
Nemeth Returns From U.S. Visit 39
Grosz Receives UK Minister of State 39
Egyptian Delegation Received for Talks 39
MSZMP Central Committee Session Begins 39
Officials Discuss Politics, Economy, Change 40

POLAND

Jaruzelski Chairs Politburo Meeting at Factory 50
Communique Issued After Session 50
Barcikowski Views Elections to People's Council 51
PZPR-Peasants' Party Session Views Agriculture 51
Plenum Examines Cadre Policy Problems *[TRYBUNA LUDU 9 Jun]* 52
Messner Attends Market Supplies Talks 57
Professor Examines Reform of Local Government *[SLOWO POLSKIE 8 Jun]* 58
Radom Meeting Discusses Economic Reform 59
Press Cited on Conflicts, Currency, Solidarity *[POLITYKA 11 Jun]* 59
PEN Club Letter to Jaruzelski, Malinowski *[POLITYKA 11 Jun]* 59
Siwicki Appraises 'Shield-88' Exercises *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 13 Jun]* 61
Orzechowski Discusses Relations With Denmark *[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE 16 Jun]* 61

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives PLO's Hawatimah 63
Anniversary of Relations With Israel Noted *[SCINTEIA 15 Jun]* 63
Officials at Revolution Anniversary Symposium 64

YUGOSLAVIA

Further on Army LCY Conference 66
Extraordinary Congress Idea Criticized *[Marcinko in DNEVNIK 12 Jun]* 66
Program for Overcoming 'Crisis' Discussed 67
Serbian LC Central Committee Expels Seven 67
On 'Uncultured', 'Uncivilized' Ljubljana Meeting 68
Maribor Enterprise Strike Continues 68
Macedonian Villagers Protest to SFRY Assembly 68
Vojvodina LC Membership Figures Cause Concern 68
Vojvodina Presidency Reduces Territorial Defense 69
Defense Secretary in Bosnia-Hercegovina Talks 69
Spokesman on U.S. F-16's in Italy 69
Anniversary of Cominform Split Previewed 70
Yasir 'Arafat Arrives in Belgrade 70
Mikulic, Strougal Toasts at Belgrade Dinner *[Bratislava PRAVDA 17 Jun]* 71
Greek CP Secretary in Belgrade for Talks 73
Received by Tupurkovski *[POLITIKA 20 Jun]* 73
Holds Talks With Krunic 73
Dizdarevic Receives New Envoys 73
GDR Ambassador 73
Finnish Ambassador 74

Further on Berlin Nuclear-Free Zones Meeting

Honecker, Ho Tam Confer

LD2206122888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1043 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, had a friendly talk this morning with Ho Tam, secretary of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP] Central Committee and member of its Politburo, and head of the DPRK delegation to the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. Ho Tam conveyed cordial greetings from Kim Il-song, general secretary of of the KWP Central Committee and president of the DPRK, which were reciprocated with thanks by Erich Honecker.

Both partners in the talks evaluated favorably the dynamic development of bilateral relations, the basis of which is the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation and the agreements made at the highest level.

Erich Honecker stressed solidarity and support for the initiatives of the DPRK for peace and detente on the Korean peninsula, including the proposal for creating a nuclear weapons-free zone in that region. He referred with satisfaction to the agreement between the two states on the basic questions of international politics. He stressed that today only arms limitation and disarmament can prevent a nuclear catastrophe and safeguard peace. The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow created the prerequisites for continuation of the disarmament process.

Erich Honecker thanked him for the DPRK's high estimation of the GDR's active policies for peace and disarmament.

During the talk, Ho Tam briefed Erich Honecker on the efforts of Korean workers to realize the tasks of the Third 7-Year Plan, and on their achievements in making worthy preparations for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, which will be celebrated in September of this year. Erich Honecker referred to the positive development in the GDR toward realization of the resolutions of the 11th SED party conference, and commented on the further tasks in strengthening socialism in the GDR.

Also taking part in the friendly talks were Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State; and Kwon Min-chun, first deputy director of the International Relations Department of the KWP Central Committee; and Pak Yong-chan, ambassador of the DPRK in the GDR.

Stoph Receives Nguyen Huu Tho

BK2206153588 Hanoi VNA in English 1517 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA June 22—Nguyen Huu Tho, vice-president of the State Council, was received in Berlin on June 21 by Willi Stoph, Political Bureau member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho is in the GDR capital for the International Meeting for the Establishment of Nuclear-Free Zones.

Willi Stoph welcomed the positive contributions of the Vietnamese delegation to the meeting.

Nguyen Huu Tho spoke highly of Erich Honeckers's initiatives and the GDR's efforts in the struggle for disarmament and peace in Europe and other parts of the world.

The two sides expressed their hope that the results of the Berlin meeting would help in speeding up the process of disarmament, and reaffirmed the solidarity, friendship and cooperation between the parties and peoples of the GDR and Vietnam.

Fischer Meets Iranian Adviser

LD2206183088 Tehran IRNA in English 1744 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Tehran, June 22, IRNA—Presidential High Advisor Mostafa Mir Salim, currently visiting the German Democratic Republic conferred with that country's Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer in East Berlin Tuesday.

Mir Salim is in GDR to participate in the international conference on nuclear-free zones.

The Iranian official explaining the Islamic Republic's foreign policy stressed on the need for establishment of relations with progressive countries within the framework of the revolution's Islamic principles.

In response, Fischer described Iran's presence at the conference as a boost for global peace and emphasised on expansion of friendly ties between the two countries.

In another development, Mir Salim held talks with president of the GDR Parliament (Volkskammer) Horst Sindermann the same day.

Mir Salim said at the meeting that deployment of nuclear weapons lurks as a probability, whereas, the Iraqi regime's crime of chemical bombardment is a grim reality with which the world is faced at present. "Therefore the need for effectively banning these lethal weapons is the need of the hour," he added.

Concrete measures should be taken for condemning deployment of internationally-banned toxic substances, he said emphatically.

In response, the East German parliamantary official said the use of chemical weapons, in any time and under whatever circumstances must be denounced.

Campaign against use of lethal gases should be given special importance and utmost priority, Sindermann noted.

Mir Salim arrived in East Berlin on Monday at the head of a delegation.

Sindermann Welcomes Legislators

LD2206134288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1013 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—Late this morning Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and deputy chairman of the Council of State, cordially welcomed about 100 parliamentarians from all parts of the world to a meeting in the supreme body of popular representation in the GDR.

In his welcoming address he stressed that the Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones impressively confirms the need for the policy of dialogue. The response to Erich Honecker's initiative shows that the topic has great attraction. The large number of speakers at the meeting's forums reflects the need to express opinions, and to add one's own thoughts to this topic. We need peaceful cooperation, not nuclear threats, and parliamentarians especially have great experience in this sphere. Dialogue is a necessity for the existence of parliaments. This is being confirmed in excellent fashion here in Berlin.

Officials Receive Other Guests

LD2106194488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 21 Jun (ADN)—Members of the GDR party and state leadership had numerous discussions in Berlin on Tuesday with foreign dignitaries attending the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones.

The meetings with representatives of states, parties, social organizations, and movements centered on joint efforts for a secure world without nuclear weapons, and for lasting peace.

Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with Jan Martenson, director general of the UN office in Geneva and personal envoy of the UN secretary general.

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the People's Chamber, met with Mostafa Mir Salim, envoy of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran and vice president of the Islamic Republic of Iran [title as received]; Dr Jorge Zavala Baquerizo, parliamentary president of Ecuador; Horacio Duarte, envoy of the president of the Argentinian Chamber of Deputies; and Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, speaker of the Palestine National Council.

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Maxime Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party; and with Louis Van Gety, chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium.

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Dhimitrios Khristofias, general secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL).

Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Ole Sohn, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark.

Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Petr Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who is leading the Soviet delegation; and with Yuriy Khristoradnov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Mir Sahib Karwal, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; and with Anker Joergensen, representative of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark and chairman of the parliamentarians' committee for a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

Guenther Kleiber, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with Mario de Graca Machungo, prime minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party.

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Salim Salih Muhammad, deputy secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party.

Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP and vice president of the Council of State of the Socialist

Republic of Romania; and Eriya Kategaya, authorized representative of the president of the Republic of Uganda and first deputy prime minister.

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, met with Tserendashiyn Namsray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural; and with Sergio de Moraes and Almir Neves, members of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party.

Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Mohamed Karboul, authorized representative of the president of the Republic of Tunisia and member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Destourian Rally; Joern Svensson, chairman of the Party Executive of the Communist Left Party, deputy of the Riksdag, and representative of the Communist Left Party's Riksdag members; and Dhimitrios Gondikas, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.

Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the National Executive Council of the FDGB, met with Ahmad Jallud, secretary general of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, and with other leading trade unionists taking part in the international meeting.

Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Boubacar Diallo, authorized representative of the President of the Republic of Mali and deputy secretary general of the People's Democratic Union.

Other representatives of the GDR Government, parties and mass organizations collaborating in the National Front, and other social and cultural establishments, had friendly talks with foreign participants in the international meeting.

Further Talks Noted

LD2206201288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1500 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—Members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, leading representatives of all parties and mass organizations working in the National Front, members of the GDR Government, and other political and social figures conducted talks again on Wednesday with participants in the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. As part of the great political dialogue in Berlin these days, they discussed with representatives of states, parties, social organizations, and movements, ways to secure peace and avert a nuclear inferno, as the most important issue of world politics.

The talks were conducted by:

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the People's Chamber, with:

Mohamed Hawadhleh Madar [name as received], first vice president of the Somali People's Assembly and representative of the Somali president; Ranji Chandisingh, vice president and deputy prime minister of the Republic of Guyana, and representative of the Guyanese president; and Mikhail Stefanidhis, first vice president of the Greek Parliament;

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, with:

Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP; Jarmo Wahlstrom, chairman of the Communist Party of Finland; and Raghunandan Lai Bathia, president of the India-GDR Friendship Society;

Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, with:

Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian State Council and chairman of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain; and Dr Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, with:

Merlin Magallona [name as received], general secretary of the Philippines Communist Party Central Committee; and Bruno Bertini, member of the Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party (PCI);

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Minister of National Defense, with:

Eriya Kategaya, Ugandan first deputy prime minister and representative of the Ugandan president; Ho Tam, member of the Politburo of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee; and Dr Walther Stuetzle, director of the Stockholm International Peace and Conflict Research Institute (SIPRI);

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, with:

Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, member of the Egyptian Shura Council; and Dr Salimin Amour, secretary of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party Central Committee and representative of the Tanzanian president;

Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, with:

Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the Czech National Council, and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee;

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, with:

Markus Aaltonen [name as received], parliamentarian, chairman of the parliament's foreign policy committee, member of the Social Democratic Party of Finland; and Rizq al-Batayneh [name as received], chairman of the Jordanian parliament's foreign policy committee;

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, with:

Dr Hasan Makki, YAR [Yemen Arab Republic] deputy prime minister and representative of the YAR president; and Sebastiao da Silva Isaca, head of the International Relations Department of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Central Committee;

Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, with:

Trade union representatives who took part in the international meeting.

Japanese Group Attends

OW2106011988 Tokyo KYODO in English 1056 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, June 20 (KYODO)—Over 1,000 delegates from governments, political parties and peace movement organizations in 111 countries across the world gathered here Monday to open a three-day conference on establishment of international nuclear-free zones.

The conference was proposed by East German leader Erich Honecker as part of the stepped-up disarmament movement, following the conclusion of a U.S.-Soviet treaty on abolition of the intermediate-range nuclear force (INF), which took effect on June 1.

The Berlin conference is especially designed to help abolish tactical nuclear weapons with a range of less than 500 kilometers, which will be the next subject of debate after the INF pact went into effect.

After speeches by Honecker and United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, a message sent by Hitoshi Motoshima, mayor of the Japanese city of Nagasaki, was read. Nagasaki and Hiroshima were atomic bombed in 1945 during World War II.

The Nagasaki message appealed for strenuous and concerted efforts transcending nationality, race and ideology toward abolishment of nuclear weapons, as well as recommending peace education for young people.

Also a message came from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, which pledged his support for the creation of nuclear-free zones.

Japanese conference participants included Masashi Ishibashi, former chairman of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), Hideo Den, representative of the United Social Democratic Party, as well as city assembly members of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and atomic bomb survivors from these two western Japan cities.

West Germany's Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Green Party sent delegates, but the ruling camp did not.

Honecker Delivers Speech

LD2206214088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—After the conclusion of the the 3-day Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State and general secretary of the SED Central Committee, gave a reception on Wednesday evening. Official participants in this world forum for peace took up the invitation to the Council of State on Marx-Engels Square.

Taking part in the reception, which was introduced by the GDR national anthem, were: Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer; Prof Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front; State Council Deputy Chairman Gerald Goetting, chairman of the CDU; Heinrich Homann, chairman of the NDPD; Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany]; and Hans-Dieter Raspe, deputy chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany].

Also taking up the invitation were: Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council; Ilse Thiele, chairwoman of the DFD [Democratic Women's League]; Prof Guenther Drefahl, chairman of the GDR Peace Council; Prof Werner Scheler, president of the Academy of Sciences; Prof Manfred Wekwert, president of the Academy of Arts; Dr Christoph Demke, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders of the GDR; Prof Max Schmidt, director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics; and other members of the

SED Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Council of State, the Presidium of the People's Chamber, and the GDR National Committee for Preparations for the Meeting; as well as other figures. Erich Honecker said in his toast: I cordially welcome you, participants in the International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones that has just ended. The great and lasting interest which the world public is showing in our gathering demonstrates that our common efforts have been worthwhile.

Permit me to thank you, dear guests, once more, for your committed and well-informed work over the past 3 days, on behalf, simultaneously, of the members of the GDR's national preparatory committee, who represent all the classes and sections of our people and the most varied political parties, public organizations, and religious denominations. While we may not all be of the same opinion with regard to the ways and the pace of progress toward a nuclear-free world and with regard to the expediency and practicability of nuclear-free zones, we are united in the desire for a world without war and force and without nuclear and chemical weapons.

Heads of state, governments, Parliaments, parties, organizations, and dignitaries from all continents have expressed in messages and statements their support for the Berlin meeting as a timely and important initiative. I believe that I am also speaking on their behalf when I describe that attitude as evidence of a high awareness of their responsibility for safeguarding peace and for the future of mankind. It strengthens us in our conviction that the findings, ideas, and stimuli which we have gained on the subject of freedom from nuclear weapons, in a frank and lively exchange of views and experience, will remain effective far beyond our meeting.

It was a great honor for us to be the hosts of a forum at which the efforts and initiatives for a nuclear-free world were discussed in all their breadth and variety. Let us continue the dialogue begun in Berlin and unite our endeavors, in order to take the fear of nuclear annihilation away from the peoples forever, and in order to open up for our children and our children's children a world without fear and hatred, a world of the peaceful coexistence of the peoples. The GDR is willing to play a committed part in shaping this process for peace.

I ask you to raise your glasses with me and drink to further progress in establishing a world without nuclear weapons, to peace and the happiness of all peoples, and to your well-being, esteemed guests, dear friends, and comrades.

Erich Honecker had cordial meetings and lively talks during the festive evening with guests from all over the world. Sergio Ramirez, vice president of the Republic of Nicaragua, presented Erich Honecker with greetings from Daniel Ortega and reported to him on the current situation in his country. Erich Honecker reciprocated the greetings and assured the Nicaraguan people of the firm solidarity of the GDR. Addis Tedla, member of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, handed Erich Honecker a greetings message from Mengistu Haile Mariam, which the host received with thanks and best greetings to the general secretary of the fraternal party. Ole Sohn, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, expressed his great satisfaction at the meeting in Berlin and affirmed that his party would fight for the goals discussed here. Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasized the international influence of the Berlin meeting and stressed that it would achieve historic significance. Erich Honecker expressed gratitude for the cooperation of the USSR delegation.

Erich Honecker had a very friendly talk with Soviet cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya. Whether on earth or from the distance of outer space, the questions of mankind can be recognized everywhere, perhaps even more clearly from space, the cosmonaut said. She described her meetings in Berlin, where she was able to meet GDR pilot-cosmonaut Sigmund Jaehn. Lyn Hume, organizer of the "Peace Squadron" of New Zealand, expressed thanks to Erich Honecker for his indefatigable activity and presented him with an illustrated book about her homeland. Dr Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, conveyed to Erich Honecker the greetings of the Hungarian representatives and their appreciation of this significant meeting in the GDR capital.

Erich Honecker had further meetings with Gabriele Mucchi, the Italian painter; Pastor Konrad Luebbert of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation; Nguyen Huu Tho, vice chairman of the Council of State of the SRV; Marshal Francisco da Costa Gomes; M.S Saathi, mayor of New Delhi; Boubacar Diallo, deputy secretary general of the Mali People's Democratic Union; Petra Kelly, Bundestag deputy for the Greens in the FRG; the retired general, Gerd Bastian, of the group "Generals for Peace and Disarmament"; Katja Ebstein, the singer; Dhimitrios Khristofias, general secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; Carl Mau, representative of the Lutheran World Federation; and other guests at the meeting.

Fischer Addresses Delegates

LD2306154188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer pointed out in the Palace Hotel, in front of some 100 governmental representatives, the fact that speakers in the plenum as well as in the commissions of the Berlin meeting had advocated not more, but fewer weapons, and not rearmament but disarmament. At the meeting of representatives of heads of state and government, foreign ministers, and their deputies, he stressed

that this is the correct way forward to a nuclear weapons-free world. The GDR belongs to the group of states, which, after the INF Treaty, consider tactical nuclear weapons to be dispensable without impairing anyone's security. The idea of a nuclear weapons-free corridor is also based upon these considerations. Regional progress cannot replace worldwide solutions, but the global solution could be helpful for the regional solution.

Austrian representative Dr Dietrich Bukowski, first deputy of the general secretary in the Foreign Ministry, welcomed, in principle, regional disarmament initiatives. In the nuclear age, a reasonable foreign policy must be a peace policy. For that reason, trust-building measures must include concrete steps toward disarmament.

Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Boleslaw Kulski considered the Berlin meeting an important step toward the inclusion of the whole of Europe in nuclear-free zones. He pointed out that this goal has had a central position in his country's foreign policy for more than 30 years.

Kebby Musokotwane, prime minister and representative of the president of the Republic of Zambia, said the African people welcome the efforts in Europe for nuclear disarmament. They are of great interest to the countries of his continent. In this connection, he called for the international public to take coordinated measures and sanctions against the world peace-endangering policies of South Africa. There is a threatening possibility that the apartheid regime possesses nuclear weapons. Kebby Musokotwane said that conferences like the Berlin meeting have a mobilizing effect on the peace movement in many regions of the earth.

Zhivkov Sends Message

AU2206135088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 88 p 1

[Message from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, to participants in the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones held in Berlin; date not given]

[Text] I am particularly pleased to most sincerely greet you and to wish your highly authoritative forum successful work.

The Berlin meeting for nuclear-free zones is taking place in a period of radical changes. More than ever before the world is becoming aware that, despite existing differences and contradictions between individual countries and peoples, the world is mutually interrelated through the common interest in preserving the human race. The desire for lasting peace and common security, for the preservation of life and human civilization today is a political necessity of primary importance facing all states—great and small, nuclear, and non-nuclear states, facing the public in all countries.

The first step accomplished along the path toward a nuclear-free world is already a historical fact: The Soviet-American INF Treaty has been signed and ratified. The dynamic development of the dialogue between the USSR and the United States, reflected by the recent Moscow summit meeting, the positive trends which mark the whole spectrum of East-West relations are sources of new incentives in the struggle for the achievement of this goal.

These events create favorable conditions for the implementation of the idea of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, transforming these zones into particularly important and necessary components of contemporary international relations. I am convinced that your meeting will contribute to the implementation of this lofty idea. I am confident that this meeting will support our efforts for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. You can rest reassured that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will persist in its indefatigable efforts in this direction being clearly aware of the fact that the Balkans are a part of Europe, a part of the world.

I would also like to assure you that our country will continue in the future to make its real contribution to the implementation of the proposals and initiatives on the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world and that we will make our contribution in the spirit of the new political thinking and action.

I wish your meeting successful work.

Bulgaria's Tanchev Speaks

AU2106202688 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 21 Jun 88

["P. Tanchev's Speech at the Berlin Forum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Berlin, June 21 (BTA corr.)—At the international meeting for nuclear-weapon-free zones, which continues here, spoke Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS) and first vice president of the State Council, who is heading the Bulgarian delegation to the meeting. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, he stressed, attaches exceptional importance to the nuclear-free-zones in the strategy for nuclear-free world, for the survival of mankind. There is no doubt that the establishing of such zones will have favourable effect on the overall international political climate, will strengthen trust and security, will contribute to the confirmation of peaceful coexistence. As an European state, Bulgaria leads an unflinching policy for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons. This policy takes into account the lessons from history and the present realities.

The Balkans are a strategic region where a number of wars have started, said Mr Petur Tanchev further on. Well-known in the past as Europe's powder keg, it has

lived in peace for 43 years now. This is something new in the history of the Balkans, Europe and the world. Positive changes occurred in the political panorama of the Balkan peninsula. The political maturity of the Balkan peoples has grown, their desire to live in trust, good-neighbour relations and security also has grown, as well as to give an essential contribution to the efforts of mankind for a nuclear free world.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation recalled the wide international response to Mr Todor Zhivkov's proposal of 1981 for a meeting of the leaders of the Balkan states which should discuss the ways for the turning of the region into a zone free of nuclear weapons. This highly humane initiative corresponds to the interests of all Balkan states and finds ever wider popularity and support. Of special importance is the fact that such a mighty nuclear force as the USSR supports the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free Balkans and is ready to give the necessary guarantees, said Mr Petur Tanchev. As an important step toward a nuclear-free-Balkans he assessed the appeal by the leaders of Bulgaria and Greece, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou, to the other Balkan states with the call for undertaking of measures for the elimination of the tactical nuclear weapons from that region. This is an example of cooperation and good-neighbour relations between two states of different social systems and military political alliances.

Mr Petur Tanchev pointed out the great importance of the joint initiative of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu for proclaiming the Balkans a zone free of chemical weapons, its significance for the peaceful future of the region. He stressed that the idea for a nuclear-weapon-free Balkans was supported at the first forum in history of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states in Belgrade. An important role is played by the Bulgarian proposal for ecological protection of the Balkans. New opportunities for improvement of the situation in the peninsula have been opened with the Bulgaro-Turkish protocol signed in February this year.

The speaker expressed satisfaction over the growing popularity of the idea for nuclear-free-zones all over the world and stood in support of the Soviet initiative for elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the year 2000. He also expressed support for the initiatives of the other European states and political parties on the problems of nuclear-free-zones and disarmament in our continent. He voiced solidarity with the struggle for nuclear-weapon-free zones led by different parties, organizations and movements all over the world, and greeted the ideas for the establishing of zones free of nuclear weapons in the southern part of the Pacific and in Latin America.

The new foreign policy concept of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, proposed by the leader of the new political thinking, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, has an indispensable role in the movement for nuclear- weapon-free zones, the Bulgarian representative said further on. Thanks to its constructive initiatives only for several years [as received] a number of dogmas and stereotypes of the "cold war" and confrontation started to fall to pieces. The way for fruitful dialogue for search of balance of the interests, for restructuring, democratization, humanisation and demilitarization of international relations, for equality and equal security is opened.

We understand, said Mr Petur Tanchev, that considerable obstacles and difficulties stand before the establishing of nuclear-weapons-free zones he called for united, energetic actions of the widest political and public forces for the overcoming of these barriers. We don't share the opinion of those circles, continued the speaker, who think that nuclear-weapon-free zones can be established only after the solution of the problems of nuclear disarmament on global scale. This position renounces the opportunities for stage-by-stage resolution of big questions of disarmament, as well as the contribution of small and medium size states, and in fact they are the majority, which they can give for the limitation of arms race and the proliferation of mass destruction weapons.

We are convinced, said in conclusion Mr Petur Tanchev, that the forum in Berlin will give important contribution to the uniting of anti-military and anti-nuclear forces, to the consolidation of the peaceful coexistence between peoples. He assured the participants in the meeting that in the face of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian public the struggle for peace and for nuclear-weapon-free zones has a resolute champion who will continue to work for the complete success of this idea.

Polish Official Gives Speech

LD2206221488 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, June 22—On the last day of the debates of the international nuclear-free zone conference here Poland's foreign vice-minister Boleslaw Kulski took the floor to stress the influence of the Rapacki Plan on the development of the concepts of nuclear-free zones.

He said "Poland, like other medium-size and small states which have no nuclear arms, is interested in the implementation of regional reduction plans in the military-political sphere because of the following reasons:

Firstly, in return for the voluntary and partial self-limitation of sovereign rights ensuing from territorial supremacy the Polish territory, like territories of other states included in a zone, would gain additional guarantees protecting it against a possible attack, and particularly against a nuclear strike.

Secondly, the formation of a zone of limited armaments or of confidence building and security, irrespective of concrete decisions, would be an act which makes preparations for war more difficult, preventing nuclear conflicts in Europe.

Thirdly, the formation of zones of limited armaments and security, through the withdrawal from agreed areas of specified weapons which have been installed there already, would contribute to the construction of a system based on the interdependence of security interests and constant elimination of a threat ensuing from Western concepts which regard Europe as a potential limited nuclear war theatre".

"Poland is particularly interested in and approves of the concepts of the denuclearization of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO borderline area which were formulated in the 80's. The realization of an idea of a nuclear-free zone has been acquiring particular importance especially at present—when one faces the threat of modernization of tactical nuclear weapons as a means compensating for elimination of intermediate and shorter-range missiles," Kulski stated.

"Also the Jaruzelski Plan follows the trend towards the search for zonal limitations of armaments and for increasing confidence. The Polish plan is known to envisage the withdrawal from central Europe of jointly agreed kinds and quantities of nuclear ames. The realization of this point of the Polish proposal would decisively contribute to the transformation of central Europe into a nuclear-free zone. However, it is necessary to add that the plan's main idea refers to the problem of conventional stability in central Europe," Poland's representative concluded.

SPD's Bahr Proposes Talks

LD2206134588 Hamburg DPA in German 1213 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—At the conclusion of the East Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr proposed a disarmament conference in Bonn in which all European governments should participate. At the same time he supported a Swedish parliamentarian's view on the Berlin Wall. In Bahr's opinion, his view that the Berlin Wall is a relic of the Cold War is "an indisputable, objective statement." Bahr today told journalists from East and West that this relic should "no longer be there" if a common European home is to be built. [passage omitted]

In his call to the Federal Government to hold an international peace conference, Bahr highlighted the argument that it is not doing enough to bring about further steps for disarmament. Like other participants in the conference, the SPD politician has over the last few days regretted that representatives of the CDU and CSU—in contrast to the SPD, FDP, and Greens—are not in East Berlin. The Union sees the East Berlin event, at which over 1,000 participants from 113 countries discussed issues concerning nuclear weapons-free corridors, as a "propaganda show" whose demands do not make peace any more secure. [passage omitted]

FDP's Ronneburger Speaks

AU2306093188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 88 p 4

[Speech by Uwe Ronneburger, member of the FDP Presidium, deputy chairman of the FDP group in the FRG Bundestag, and head of the FDP delegation to the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, in Berlin on 20 June]

[Text] Mr Chairman of the State Council,

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

The FDP of the FRG was pleased to accept the invitation to this congress because it has always advocated the use of all levels of dialogue to make peace more secure. We have come here to talk with a wide-ranging group on possibilities for leading people out of "the shadow of the nuclear bomb." We seek dialogue and the exchange of opinions, in order to explain different positions and to foster understanding for the positions of others.

The world is watching the positive course of the disarmament and arms control negotiations with hope and expectation. By means of dialogue, the summit between the leaders of the USSR and the United States has produced trend-setting results in spite of different views. The new thinking in West-East relations does not only open up perspectives for further disarmament steps but also for a thorough change that may lead from reducing confrontation to broad cooperation in all fields. Opinions may differ about the ways toward the aspired success. But I believe that we have jointly become aware of the need to overcome "war as an institution."

In view of the fact that mankind is confronted with the alternative of either proving its readiness for peace or preparing its own demise, reason has initiated a change of consciousness which enables us to open up trend-setting paths to safeguard peace.

We must be aware of the fact that nuclear arms are not the cause of the danger of war. For more than 40 years, they have protected us from armed conflict in Europe, in contrast to regions that are not jeopardized by nuclear destruction. But nevertheless we must not content ourselves in the long run with a strategy of deterrence by a bilaterally secured second-strike capacity. Securing peace politically, as we aspire to, means far more than the abolition of weapons and the modification of strategies. We need a system of cooperative security.

With the Helsinki Final Act and the final documents of the follow-up conferences, we have linked a comprehensive code of conduct for the states of the two alliance systems in East and West and for the neutral and

nonaligned states in Europe, with a wide-ranging program of building confidence and cooperation. Strengthening the human dimension by implementing civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights to which the community of states has committed itself, especially by granting self-determination and freedom of movement, and consolidating the awareness of the spiritual unity and cultural identity of divided Europe, are important tasks of the CSCE process. We have to further promote this process, that is, equally in all three baskets. We hope that, accordingly, a substantial final document will be adopted in Vienna very soon.

The qualitative progress of the CSCE process has contributed much to building confidence and thus to safeguarding peace. This also corresponds to the objective of the Harmel concept, which is still valid for the NATO states, that is, to create a European peace zone in which states with different social orders can coexist in a peaceful competition without fearing one other.

On the basis of this concept, the alliance of Western democracies has considerably contributed to preserving peace in Europe. Preventing war, that is, avoiding every nuclear and conventional war, remains the target of Western alliance strategy.

The result of the Stockholm conference was an encouraging sign of the vitality of the CSCE process. Now a sign of a similar quality is expected from Vienna. Conventional disarmament is an integral and important part of the entire disarmament process. We regard establishing stability on a lower level of conventional armament as a central task for Europe. For this purpose, it is necessary to reduce the conventional imbalance in Europe.

The dynamic development in disarmament and arms control, and in East-West relations in general has shown that it is not only possible to stop the arms race, but that it can even be turned around. The agreement on the worldwide reduction of nuclear intermediate-range missiles—to which the FRG Government has made substantial contributions—is a visible example of it.

We also expect an impetus from this agreement for other important sectors of disarmament and arms control:

—An agreement between the USSR and the United States on halving the nuclear-strategic offensive potentials seems to be possible this year.

—We also hope for solutions that will prevent an arms race in space.

—In the field of chemical weapons we are close to the desired objective of a global ban. The use of the terrible poisonous gas in the Gulf War has shown us the urgency of a worldwide ban on chemical weapons which is not limited only to particular zones.

—The renunciation of any kind of nuclear test by the nuclear powers and safeguarding this by a test ban treaty that can be comprehensively verified would be desirable.

We also regard the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons as an important element of arms control. The efforts for nuclear disarmament of the recognized nuclear states have to be complemented by internationally integrating the states that have not yet joined the Nonproliferation Treaty.

Years ago, the FDP had already postulated a nuclear-free Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. This is an ideal that can represent the goal a long process of confidence-building, cooperation, and disarmament. We have deliberately chosen this broad approach, which is in contrast to the concept of limited nuclear-free zones or corridors in Europe that is under discussion.

For well-conceived reasons, as I believe, the FDP does not consider the establishment of nuclear-free zones or corridors to be an appropriate step to improve security in Europe.

—Not only the nuclear weapons deployed there but also the fact that nuclear weapons may be aimed at such an area are decisive for the nuclear threat to an area.

—Simply moving the nuclear arsenals apart would not increase stability but would only create an illusion of greater safety.

—Highly effective weapons systems that have been removed from narrow corridors could be brought back within hours.

But precisely the complete worldwide elimination of a whole category of weapons and a really practicable verification are the decisive criteria of the INF Treaty. What we in East and West considered right, logical, and appropriate in the INF Treaty, cannot be wrong with regard to other considerations of disarmament policy.

Therefore, in pursuing the target of reducing nuclear weapons, we advocate bearing in mind the same principle as implemented in the INF Treaty and not restricting it to a regulation of zones.

The nuclear-free zones that so far have been established outside Europe are a useful instrument in the spirit of the Nonproliferation Treaty. However, such concepts are of no avail where it is not yet possible to prevent a nuclear threat in the foreseeable future.

Disarmament, ladies and gentlemen, has to lead to more security. For the time being, we will not achieve a denuclearization of Europe, which, however, must not prevent us from continuing our efforts to further reduce nuclear potentials.

Making war impossible from intellectual and military points of view must be a joint political aim.

—Peace requires trust. Therefore, increasing mutual trust in the honorable intentions of the other side will be decisive for further successes in all sectors of arms control and disarmament. The basis for this is relevant military data and their verification, proceeding on the basis of the positive experiences of the agreements of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, within the CSCE process, and following the regime of verification of the INF Treaty.

—We have to agree in East and West on achieving exclusively defensive military doctrines on both sides. This presupposes changes in volume, armament, deployment, leadership principles, and training facilities of the armed forces.

—Thus, a restructuring of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces is also necessary for conventional stability so that they are no longer capable of large-scale offensive operations and surprise attacks.

—The awareness of the absolute priority of peace should make it easier for us to remove outdated images of foes. This is an intellectual act of disarmament. It also implies not educating young people for ideological confrontation.

We Germans in both states are aware of our special responsibility for peace. Only peace, and never again war, must emanate from German soil, as you, Mr Chairman of the State Council, and the chancellor, have jointly formulated. In his latest speech at the Potsdam conference, Foreign Minister Genscher emphatically recalled the historical responsibility for peace of the two German states.

There were times in which the German-German relationship was an obstacle to an improvement of the East-West relationship. Now we have reached a level of relations that enables us to act positively to promote the policy of detente and the CSCE process.

The German nation has always played a special role, positively and negatively, in the heart of Europe, the field of tension of world history. The letter on German unity, which was written on the basis of the Basic Law for the FRG and is attached to the Basic Treaty, shows our perspective for the future of the German nation. Regardless of the form it will take in view of the profound contrasts and differences in the political and social systems, we stick to the principle that a German people united by free self-determination will be a stabilizing factor in a European order of peace in which all Europeans will find peace and the fulfillment of their inalienable rights.

Iranian Warning on Chemical Arms

LD2206202788 Tehran IRNA in English 1853 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Tehran, June 22, (IRNA)—High Presidential Advisor Mostafa Mir Salim in his address to the conference on nuclear free zones in East Berlin Wednesday, warned the world of the spread of chemical weapons' use.

Mir Salim, referring to the superpowers' sinister role in intensifying the deployment of toxic gases, noted that the browbeating policy adopted by both the superpowers has prevented world bodies from guaranteeing the execution of justice in international relations.

Every country in the world is now trying to equip itself with the most sophisticated arms and even with means of mass destruction such as nuclear, chemical and microbiological weapons because of its lack of faith in the status quo of international bodies, he said.

Moral crisis and lack of humane values, the main causes of all international crises, are threatening humanity more seriously than ever before, Mir Salim noted.

He said that lack of these values which are the safest criteria for regulating human behaviour has shaken the cultural foundations of societies in the modern world.

The Iranian official said the Islamic Republic of Iran by relying on its revolutionary ideals still views with respect various efforts made around the world for achieving a general disarmament, he said.

At present, Mir Salim warned, exploitation of science for manufacturing weapons of destruction portends a bleak future for humanity. He also criticized big powers for using their latest reasearch and scientific achievements in manufacturing such deadly weapons.

Although general disarmament is of greatest importance to all peace-loving people in the world, it cannot establish a lasting peace around the globe by itself, he said.

Military hegemony of certain developing countries and even ambitious goals of some third world countries are now gaining momentum which indicate the defeat of peace efforts in international forums, Mir Salim said.

Continued the Iranian senior presidential advisor that the Middle East, as a key strategic region with rich underground resources has always been the target of plots and aggressions of the big powers. He also lashed out at the Zionist regime for paving the way for big powers' intervention in the Middle East.

With regards to such dangers threatening the Middle East, turning the region into a nuclear free zone would be an effective stride to attain disarmament and establish peace throughout the world, he added.

Elsewhere in his speech, Mir Salim enumerated war crimes committed by the Iraqi regime in its war against Islamic Iran in defiance of all international regulations such as repeated use of chemical weapons, bombardment of residential areas and attacks on passenger planes and ships.

It is a matter of regret that international organizations have never taken a serious or timely stance against the Iraqi regime's crimes encouraged Baghdad to perpetrate one of the most gruesome crimes in the world, he said obviously referring to Iraq's poison gas attacks on the Iranian liberated town of Halabjah on March 18 which 5,000 Kurdish people were martyred and over 7,000 others maimed.

Such horrible crimes warrant attention from international bodies who he said seem to be indifferent to the grave consequences of chemical warfare.

On Washington's illegal intrusions in the Persian Gulf, Mir Salim said that the U.S. despite being the main instrument behind U.N. Resolution 598 on the Iraqi-imposed war, has despatched its military forces to the region under the pretext of securing shipping, in a blatant violation of the resolution's 5th article.

A year after U.S. military intervention in the Persian Gulf attacks on ships doubled and regional tension heightened, Mir Salim said. He also held those supporting the cause of tension in the region responsible for damages inflicted on the oil installations of regional countries and for environmental pollution caused by oil leakage.

Lao Representative Cited

LD2306170888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1449 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—The exchange of opinions on creating nuclear weapons-free zones, which took place in a favorable international climate, is of burning topicality and is deeply realistic. This was stressed by acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Phoumi Vongvichit, Politburo member of the LPRP [Lao People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and President of the Lao Front for National Construction. The meeting was of burning topicality because such zones corresponded to the most inherent interests of the peoples, and realistic because such zones have already been proclaimed and further initiatives are being taken.

Laos fully and completely supports the initatives and proposals for nuclear weapons-free zones, Phoumi said. It emphatically supports the significant initiative from the GDR and the CSSR for creating a nuclear weapons-free corridor in central Europe as well, which it regards as an important contribution to preserving peace at this sensitive point of military confrontation.

The Lao representative recalled that a long time ago, along with Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos proposed turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, friendship, and cooperation. In this regard, a document on the basic principles for relations of peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indochina and ASEAN was put forward at the UN General Assembly in 1981. After persistent struggle, it can now be established with pleasure that the tendency in Southeast Asia toward confrontation is being pushed back more and more each day and that the tendency toward dialogue is increasing more and more. That corresponds to the general trend in the world, and the perspective on a rapid political solution to the Cambodian question is thereby being opened up.

Phoumi Vongvichit sketched the most recent developments on this issue and put forward the opinion that Cambodia's internal affairs must be solved by the interested Cambodian sides on the basis of national reconciliation, excluding any possibility of the genocidal regime becoming reestablished.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia must be accompanied by the cessation of any foreign intervention in its internal affairs. An international conference should guarantee the realization of relevant agreements. At the same time, the countries of this region should start a dialogue to solve the questions connected with creating a zone of peace and security in Southeast Asia, ending confrontation and promoting relations of friendship and cooperation between the countries of the area. In this regard, Laos supports the ASEAN initiative for a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, as well as the initiative taken at the ASEAN annual conference in 1986 in Manila on the creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in Southeast Asia.

Phoumi Vongvichit cited peaceful coexistence, dialogue, and settling conflicts and disagreements as the general tendency today in the face of the danger of a nuclear war which would destroy everything. A policy based on nuclear threat, confrontation, violence, and wars by proxy will certainly fail.

Panel Discussion Held

LD2106224488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2004 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 21 Jun (ADN)—A panel discussion on the joint initiative of the SED, SPD, and the CPCZ on the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe ended this evening in the assembly room of the Palace of the Republic, on the 2d day of consultations at the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in Berlin. Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium; Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ; and other representatives of the three parties took their places in the Presidium. The discussion, in front of

numerous participants in the Berlin meeting, was chaired by General Michiel von Meyenfeldt, retired, chairman of the Generals for Peace group. The general first invited the representatives of the three parties to introduce their delegations and to make a short statement as a basis for discussion.

Opening the discussion, Hermann Axen stressed that following the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the corridor proposal gained even greater value for the disarmament process in Europe. This process must lead step by step from the present state of over-arming to drastic reductions of arms in order to achieve guaranteed national defense capability, which would preclude any invasion. The joint SED-SPD working group is negotiating this on behalf of their parties. The corridor, Hermann Axen said, could be an important initial step. Its implementation would remove all tactical nuclear weapons, nuclear battlefield weapons, and chemical weapons from 150 km on each side of the dividing line. All weapons of dual application are also expressly included. This would also achieve an initial deep cut in the existing conventional arms structures. The SED politician described the corridor proposal as objectively thought out and coordinated. It cannot replace state initiatives, but it can encourage them.

Josef Kempny pointed to the need, at a time when nuclear weapons threaten the existence of mankind, to seek, despite all ideological differences, the binding elements in the positions and to join forces to solve existing problems. It is also on this basis that the CSSR-GDR joint proposal was made for establishing a nuclear weapons-free corridor in central Europe. Kempny regretted that the proposal has still not met with a positive response from the FRG Government, to which it was addressed. He also noted that the joint initiatives of the SED, SPD, and CPCZ are not restricted to these parties but are open to all those interested.

Egon Bahr pointed out that the corridor proposal contains verification regulations which have not been accepted before. In this connection too, the proposal could have a pilot function. He is convinced that if the corridor functions, many people and peoples would acquire an "appetite for more." That is the reason for the disapproval in the past of those who fear this appetite. Unfortunately, he cannot share the opinion that the corridor, once put into practice, would lead to the liberation of the European continent from nuclear weapons. Even if all nuclear weapons are removed from the countries, there would still be Soviet, British, French, and U.S. nuclear weapons present.

After the statements of principle, the representatives of the three work groups answered numerous questions from the conference participants. Asked about ideological differences and common ground in the positions of the three parties, Hermann Axen said that with regard to the common principles for a nuclear weapons-free zone, it is a case of a jointly worked-out document for which they are jointly responsible. Egon Bahr added that they have come to agreement on a practical project. The ideological differences between the parties have in no way been touched through this project. Josef Kempny agreed with him, saying that they are making an effort in the same way to find further areas in which joint initiatives are possible.

Egon Bahr was then asked whether his party would push through the corridor proposal if it acquires governmental responsibility in the FRG. Everything we have agreed upon has taken into consideration the standpoint that we would also carry out if in power, Bahr replied.

There was also great interest in the further discussions on the initiative for a chemical weapons-free zone. Replying to a question on the obstacles to a banning of chemical weapons, Prof Karl-Heinz Lohs (GDR) said it is especially the restrictive attitude of the United States which is blocking a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, although an extensive agreement on the verifiability of such a ban has been achieved. This attitude is expressed in the start-up of the production of binary chemical weapons and demonstrates the lack of political will in the United States to arrive at a ban on these mass-destruction weapons.

On the question of how the SPD assesses the creation of nuclear-free zones in northern Europe and the Balkans, and whether this would be a necessary further development of the establishment of a corridor in central Europe, Egon Bahr said that he supports nuclear-free zones, wherever they are created. However, each cannot be made dependent on the other.

A further question concerned the activities of the three parties in improving public knowledge of the corridor proposal and winning the Federal Government over to it. Hermann Axen said that there have been press conferences in Bonn and Prague at which the proposal was explained comprehensively. As far as the states are concerned, the governments of the GDR and the CSSR issued official notes at the time to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in order to commence without delay with negotiations on creating such a corridor. This proposal has also been brought up again and again at the regular consultations between the GDR and the FRG on questions of disarmament. However, There has been no positive response to date. Hermann Axen expressed the hope that negotiations would nevertheless come about.

Honecker Closes Session

LD2206162988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1515 GMT 22 Jun 88

["Concluding remarks by Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman and general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in Berlin"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends and comrades,

The International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, which became a world forum of peace, is drawing to a close. Some 1,034 participants from 113 countries around the world have, in 3 work-filled days, discussed the most important issue of world politics: how to secure peace and avert a nuclear inferno. In two plenary sessions, in the sessions of nine commissions, in platform discussions and in nine specific meetings, 651 speakers have spoken on issues vital to mankind.

Our dialogue has been comprehensive, open, and objective, and was conducted on the basis of equal rights. We have all learned. Here, experiences from all continents have flowed together—from those who already live in nuclear weapons-free zones and those who are striving for such a state. We heard the opinions of representatives of the nuclear powers, and we heard the representatives of states that do not possess nuclear weapons, from East and West, from North and South, from developed and developing countries.

Without exaggeration, one can say that the Internatinal Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in the GDR capital has turned out to be the most extensive world forum ever on peace issues. This meeting has a truly universal character. I believe that it has been convincingly proven that reason and realism are making more and more headway in international relations between peoples and states. This international meeting is a convincing expression of the new thinking in the nuclear era, the necessity for which was pointed out by Albert Einstein immediately after the creation of the first nuclear bomb.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

The conclusions and evaluations resulting from this meeting will be made by you, the participants. Let it be permitted for us as hosts to stress the following: Our meeting was extremely timely. Immediately after the Moscow summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, which dealt with the elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles, representatives from all over the world have signalled the resolve of the peoples themselves to make an active contribution to peace and international security by means of disarmament and detente. We have not spoken in general about the cause of peace. This meeting discussed ways to free mankind from nuclear weapons. One of the principal ways—as has been proven many times at our meeting—is the creation of nuclear weapons-free zones and regions. These strengthen nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and are designed to liberate greater and greater areas from the nuclear devil. They create trust and stability.

Our peace forum has confirmed that there is something new and great in world politics. The peoples' conscience, their committed thinking and action, their understanding and their collaboration are determining the course of history to an ever-greater degree. It is not just a few states deciding the fate of our planet. All countries, large or small, want to protect the first and most elementary human right, the right to life, themselves. If the nuclear danger is banished, the arms race is stopped, and disarmament and cooperation march forward, then it will be possible to open up the rich resources of our earth for the free and equal development of all states and the happiness of all people.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends: Permit me to express to you our heartfelt gratitude for the fact that you have accepted my invitation and contributed, through your cooperation, to the success of this meeting. Let me also thank you for the kind words addressed to our German Democratic Republic.

I hope this meeting and your stay in our country have strengthened your certainty that peace has a reliable home in the center of Europe, on German soil, from which two world wars emanated in our century, at the sensitive dividing line between two social systems and the two strongest military groupings of our age. You will surely understand the feelings that move me as I make this observation on this day, on which, 47 years ago, Hitler's Germany insidiously attacked the Soviet Union—the country that, after all, made a decisive contribution in the anti-Hitler coalition toward liberating the people from fascist barbarism.

In the future the German Democratic Republic will continue to serve peace, our common concern, and the most noble cause of mankind, with consistency and initiative. We will contribute to this through our activities to establish a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a zone of trust and security in central Europe.

Esteemed guests: Please take home with you our sincerest greetings to your heads of state and to the governments, parliaments, and peoples of your countries.

The 1988 International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones is closed.

Hungary's Szuros Reviews Meeting

LD2206152488 Budapest MTI in English 1431 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Berlin, June 22 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee who headed the Hungarian delegation to the international Berlin conference on the nuclear-free zones, pointed out that after the Soviet-American summit in Moscow this was the most

comprehensive meeting which directed public attention to the importance of nuclear disarmament, the significance of the nuclear-free zones and the special place of Europe.

Insistence on nuclear deterrence is not feasible in today's world. We support the creation of a nuclear-free corridor from Scandinavia to the Balkans, including Hungary, but here the number of conventional devices should also be considerably reduced. Therefore, the corridor would not only serve confidence-building but also gain military importance.

Nuclear disarmament, which is not the exclusive affair of the nuclear powers, has to be powerfully completed by the reduction of conventional forces and armaments, because otherwise we cannot make headway in other areas either," the HSWP CC secretary stressed.

He highly appreciated the fact that the forum had the opportunity to confront different views both at the plenary session and the working committees, and several useful initiatives were made. Special mention should be made, he said, of the extensive participation of the West German parties, the SPD, the FDP, the Greens and various social and mass organizations. Egon Bahr, presidential member of SPD, pointed out during the debate on the armed forces, that what is most important is not the data on the current condition but how much is left of what. "In my view," Matyas Szuros said, "it whould not be permitted that the dispute about numerical data continue to obstruct progress, and the military approach should be increasingly replaced by political, with the emphasis laid on confidence-building.

The bold proposal of the Soviet Union that all armed forces stationed abroad should be withdrawn by 2000 has aroused great interest. Naturally, we welcome the initiative, Matyas Szuros said. He pointed out that, as he said in his yesterday's speech, Hungary is interested in belonging the group of countries that can first start the armed force reduction in their territory, including their own and the allied forces. Although mutuality and reciprocity are fundamental criteria, unilateral moves fitting into the entire process, are also conceivable. Hungary seems apt to take such unilateral alliance gestures that make the political will unambiguous and do not threaten the security of the country and other states.

CSSR's Kempny 'Pleased'

LD2206165288 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin June 21 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak delegation has been very pleased by the support given to the initiatives to create a nuclear-free corridor and chemical-weapons-free zone in central Europe, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member Josef Kempny told journalists at the end of an international session on nuclear-weapons-free zones here today.

The initiatives were submitted last year by the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the GDR's Socialist Unity Party of Germany SED, the West German Social Democratic Party SPD, Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

Participants in the meeting also paid great attention to the initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, submitted by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, Josef Kempny, head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the meeting, said.

This proposal was discussed not only at the plenary session and in individual commissions, but also at a special discussion on the joint initiatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, SED and SPD, which met with the participants' great interest, Josef Kempny added.

He stated that the meeting represented an open and very concrete dialogue. The total majority of participants supported the idea of zones free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction in various parts of the world. Great attention was naturally paid to the forming of nuclear-free zones in Europe and especially in central Europe, the area where the two most powerful military groupings have common borders and in which large quantities of arms, including nuclear, are deployed.

Josef Kempny stressed that the meeting has again proved that efforts aimed at creating nuclear-free zones in the world are beneficial and reaffirmed that the peace policy of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries meets with very positive response in the world.

GDR's Tisch Speaks at World Labor Conference

LD2206141588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1321 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—The role of the trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament was discussed by 100 representatives from 30 national and 10 international trade union organizations at a meeting in the Red Town Hall, chaired by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. [passage omitted]

Harry Tisch stressed that the most important human right is the right to life. Trade union action must be directed in the first instance toward the securing of this right. The right to work, which is realized in the GDR, also is a basic human right. The trade unions in the GDR, he assured, will contribute untiringly to disarmament and development.

Hungary's Varkonyi Addresses UN Session

AU1006131888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 88 p 3

[MTI report on speech by Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi at the UN special session on disarmament in New York on 6 June: "We Want To Actively Participate in the Disarmament Process—Peter Varkonyi Addresses UN Extraordinary Session"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi addressed the third extraordinary meeting of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in New York on 6 June. He pointed out that this meeting could be held under favorable conditions because the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, the subsequent bilateral disarmament agreements, the progress in settling regional crises, and the favorable trends in international relations in general provide an adequate atmosphere for the session's work.

"Among the recent disarmament achievements, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is particularly important because this agreement begins a new phase in the history of disarmament not only by being the first to stipulate nuclear disarmament measures, but also by revolutionizing the previous concepts on verification. It sets conditions for verification of a severity and extent previously unimaginable."

To Guarantee Mutual Security [subhead]

"The mutual ratification of this agreement has opened up the way for its implementation, and thus, it has opened a new age of nuclear disarmament. We regard it as a progressive and confidence-strengthening step that even prior to the ratification of the agreement, the Soviet side had dismantled and destroyed the missiles affected by the agreement.

"We attribute great importance to the earliest possible conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50-percent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons, observing for a specified time the agreement on anti-missile systems reached in 1972. It is our conviction that the existing bilateral agreements and further agreements currently in sight will also have an impact on multilateral disarmament forums. These forums influence each other, hinder or encourage each other, and also complement each other.

"One of the fundamentally important tasks of this meeting is to definitively prove the viability of multilateral disarmament through its efficiency and its specific guidelines. In addition to strengthening the spirit of the final document of the first special session on disarmament, the meeting can fulfill this task by generally proclaiming that no country can claim exclusive rights to security, for security is equal, universal, and indivisible, and that every country has the right and obligation to contribute to guaranteeing this mutual security.

"Both in its bilateral relations and at international forums, the Hungarian People's Republic is striving to actively contribute to the improvement of the international climate and to working out agreements that mutually guarantee security. Also, when the disarmament process was in decline and bilateral disarmament talks had reached their lowest point, the Hungarian Government continued to take a stand for maintaining dialogue between the states and for settling political problems through negotiations. Our stand has not changed."

International Forums Play an Important Role [subhead]

"Disarmament forums, including the present forum, must pay special attention to nuclear disarmament issues. The past period has showed that the two leading great powers are ready to take the first steps on the road to nuclear disarmament. Following these subsequent bilateral steps, the other nuclear powers could join the process of negotiations on nuclear disarmament. Multilateral disarmament forums can also usefully contribute to further promoting and perfecting the nuclear disarmament process.

"A ban on nuclear tests is essential for halting the nuclear arms race and for nuclear disarmament. Hungary is calling for a comprehensive ban on tests, but it does not exclude the possibility of reaching this objective step-by-step through continuous negotiations. Therefore, the coordination of bilateral and multilateral efforts is important in this area too.

"Hungary considers avoiding the arms race to be one of the key issues of international security and disarmament. We are convinced that international disarmament diplomacy can make a great contribution to this, for example, by working out agreements that guarantee the integrity of various satellites orbiting the earth and the norms of peaceful activity in outer space, as well as by establishing an adequate system of international verification.

"There is only one area in the current multilateral disarmament talks that can show at least partial results: the draft agreement on a complete ban on chemical weapons. Agreements have been reached, or have been near conclusion in recent years on a number of issues that previously seemed to be impossible to tackle, like the numerous details of on-site verification. At the same time, new problems have emerged, including the total separation of peaceful and military activities in all areas."

Peter Varkonyi then reminded his audience that he had made an important confidence-strengthening statement on behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic at the Geneva disarmament conference in February 1988 on the status of Hungary as a country free of chemical weapons. Later, on a voluntary basis, he also supplied data concerning the Hungarian chemical industry. "These steps were directed by our conviction that such openness, particularly among a wide range of countries,

would considerably contribute to strengthening confidence, and to the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement," Varkonyi continued.

"In addition to the limitation, reduction, and elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, it has become increasingly urgent to make progress on conventional disarmament and the strengthening of confidence and security. A process has already begun in Europe, and we expect a lot from its successful development."

Let Us Reduce Conventional Armed Forces in Europe [subhead]

"The creation of a military balance in Europe at a lower level of armament must, of course, include the elimination—through arms reduction—of disproportions that exist on both sides and which threaten stability. This is an indispensable condition for the success of the talks to be held on conventional disarmament. We are aware that all this requires time, political will, and modern forms of cooperation."

Among these elements, Peter Varkonyi stressed the time factor—the need to hurry, because technical progress and the development of weapons can easily render obsolete everything that seems a real possibility now. Therefore, Hungary considers it indispensable to start negotiations without any conditions as soon as possible, and believes that all the participants should make maximum efforts to achieve success.

"Following the Budapest appeal on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, Hungarian diplomacy has been actively engaged in helping coordinate concepts of military detente and encouraging their implementation both in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and as part of the process of security and cooperation in Europe."

Peter Varkonyi stressed that in order to successfully conclude this meeting, the participants should focus on the tasks ahead with a proper sense of reality and creative will, and should jointly search for solutions based on a balance of interests.

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to consider it necessary to contribute with all means at its disposal to the formulation of multilateral disarmament solutions and modern security policy measures," Peter Varkonyi said. He then concluded: "At this meeting too, the Hungarian delegation is striving to contribute to successful work. Starting from the objective fact of mutual interdependence among various states in the current international situation, we consider it our major obligation to act, with a creative and active attitude, toward widening and deepening the disarmament process."

Balkan Foreign Ministries Conference Continues

SFRY Official on Expectations

AU2106151888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jun 88 p 6

[Statement by Ilija Djukic, assistant secretary of foreign affairs of the SFRY, to BTA Belgrade correspondent Nikolay Koev: "An Event of Great Political and Practical Importance"—date and place not given]

[Text] Tomorrow Sofia will host an important political event. Senior representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries will gather around the negotiating table to discuss specific initiatives for stimulating multilateral cooperation and strengthening trust in the interest of all the states of the region.

On the eve of the Sofia meeting, Ilija Djukic, assistant secretary of foreign affairs of the SFRY, kindly gave an answer to BTA Belgrade correspondent Nikolay Koev to a question from RABOTNICHESKO DELO: What are Yugoslavia's expectations regarding the Sofia meeting, and what contribution will it make to its work?

"We ascribe political and practical importance to the Sofia meeting," said Djukic, "and the actions of the Yugoslav representatives will be in this spirit. We have an interest in the meeting's success and will try to make our own specific contribution. We see this event as a continuation of the dialogue between the Balkan countries, toward which the foreign ministers directed themselves and which in fact determined their aims at the meeting in the Yugoslav capital.

The Sofia meeting has been given the important task of discussing effective measures to implement in practice the initiatives, ideas, and proposals made by the ministers in Belgrade. The meeting is also expected to analyze the Belgrade proposals and the agreement reached there on implementing them on the basis of the common interests and readiness of all the Balkan countries, primarily bearing in mind the real possibilities under present conditions.

The participants in the Sofia meeting must work out the procedure and make appropriate recommendations to speed up the achievement of specific agreements for developing multilateral cooperation in all the fields contained in the joint announcement on the Belgrade meeting. Of course, in the interest of maintaining the political dialogue begun by the foreign ministers and of further implementing the results of their first meeting, we must concern ourselves with making known when and where the next ministerial meeting will be held.

The Yugoslav side will try, through specific proposals and recommendations, to make a maximum contribution to fulfilling the tasks of the meeting and, in this way, to make its own contribution to continuing the dialogue between the Balkan countries for further developing multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in accordance with the political premises and agreements achieved by the foreign ministers in Belgrade.

Mladenov Meets Delegation Leaders

AU2106193088 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 21 Jun 88

["P. Mladenov Receives Designated Diplomats of the Balkan Countries"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 21 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received the leaders of the delegations attending the meeting of designated high officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, which started today.

Mr Petur Mladenov stressed the significance of the meeting, which is held in implementation of the conclusive document of the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states in Belgrade. He pointed out that the present forum must continue the good beginning set in Belgrade and to work for the establishing of a mechanism for multilateral cooperation. It is necessary to discuss the crucial questions of our times: preservation of peace, consolidation of trust and cooperation, establishing of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons. The Balkans can make a considerable contribution in this sphere for consolidation of the new political thinking as well, said the Bulgarian foreign minister.

In conclusion he emphasised that Bulgaria is a stable partner for cooperation.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Interviewed on Balkans
AU1806192488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Report on interview with unnamed Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman by unnamed ATA correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text] An ATA correspondent spoke to the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' spokesman in connection with the meeting of high officials of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries—to be held in Sofia on 21-23 June—with regard to the substance and aims of this meeting.

This meeting, which is to be held following a decision taken at the Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, the spokesman stated, is intended to study proposals and to coordinate further activities in various fields, in conformity with the directives contained in the Joint Declaration of the meeting of Balkan foreign ministers. During the period that has elapsed since the Belgrade meeting, there has been an improvement in the Balkan atmosphere, contacts between various Balkan countries at various levels and in various fields have increased, and a fruitful dialogue has begun on a number of issues. The results so far are promising for the future.

Regarding the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, it has not failed to make its contribution, through its initiatives and positions, to the creation of this climate. I would like to mention here that progress has been made concerning relations with Greece. The visit to Greece by Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile in April provided a further impulse to these relations. In addition to an exchange of opinions on the situation in the Balkans and in the world, an agreement was also signed on that occasion pertaining to border trade, and talks were held on the conclusion of a number of other important agreements of mutual interest to both countries. We expect Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Republic of Greece, to visit Albania soon. We are certain that this visit will mark a new development in strengthening the good understanding and friendly cooperation between Albania and Greece.

Our relations with Turkey have developed and intensified continuously. A delegation of the People's Assembly led by Rita Marko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, visited Ankara. A protocol was signed in Ankara in April, concerning the development of trade relations between the two countries during 1988. The visit that the Turkish minister of foreign affairs will make shortly in Albania is also of considerable importance for the relations between our two countries.

Relations with Bulgaria and Romania are also developing normally in fields of mutual interest, and new opportunities have been created to further develop them.

Asked about the development of relations with Yugoslavia following the Belgrade meeting, the spokesman stated:

We cannot say the same about relations with the SFRY. Relations with that country are not developing in the way we would have wished and a number of agreements, about which both sides had come to agree in Belgrade, have not being implemented. Thus for example, the joint Albanian-Yugoslav Commission on Water Economy has still not met. The same can also be said about the cultural program, which should have been signed over 2 months ago. Both sides agreed to the signing of a border trade agreement at the level of the ministers of foreign trade. Our side proposed that the agreement be signed in the border town of Prizren, but the Yugoslav side, for reasons known only to itself, refused this suggestion and proposed that the agreement be signed in Belgrade or Titograd.

I would also like to state, on this occasion, that a large number of anti-Albanian articles, books, and other materials have been published recently in Yugoslavia, which not only impairs mutual relations, but is also contrary to the efforts made currently by other countries to strengthen the spirit of trust, understanding, friendship, and cooperation between all the Balkan states.

Politburo Discusses Petroleum Industry
AU2106151588 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jun 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Meeting Petroleum Targets Through the Efficient Use of the Resources We Possess"]

[Text] The AWP Central Committee Politburo recently undertook an analysis of the performance of the petroleum sector. The important conclusions drawn from this analysis, and the specific tasks that have been set forth, are further evidence of the party's constant care for the development and progress of this sector, which is so important for the independent development of the economy of the nation as a whole.

The Politburo pointed out that, despite all the work that has been done and despite certain successes of communists and working people in the oil industry in bringing to life the Ninth AWP Congress directives, especially those concerning the reliability of production from existing wells, the situation in some enterprises, sectors, and areas remains unsatisfactory. The Politburo therefore requires a serious assessment and deeply responsible analysis of this situation on the part of party organizations and committees in the oil-producing districts, enterprises, and the central administration, in order to meet the party's demands for the petroleum and gas industries more quickly.

There is every opportunity of doing this. Our state, in following the party's guidelines and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, has always invested in petroleum. It has trained a whole army of specialists and cadres in many professions and has placed special institutes at their disposal.

The correct use of the large and ample potential that the petroleum industry and the nation possess, the Politburo meeting stressed, must lead to a fuller exploitation of existing wells and to higher oil and gas production. Before everything else, discipline must be tightened and the entire range of measures designed to maintain and increase the number of wells in production and to boost their yield must be enforced. There are unjustifiable delays in the drilling and inauguration of new wells, in the transition from the experimental stage, and in the introduction of new technologies and secondary processes, such as those involving alkylation [uji alkalin] and carbon dioxide, to large-scale production. For these and other problems of discipline, organization, and supervision, the labor and responsibility of cadres and specialists in enterprises, in the General Petroleum and Gas Directorate, the Technological Institute and the Energy Ministry, must be raised to a higher standard in the struggle against laxity, sluggishness, and liberalism.

The clearest example of the reserves that exist in this area is the advanced experience of which there is no shortage in the oil industry. But to what extent is this advanced experience put to use? Regional party committees and trade union councils have organized seminars and aktivs for the exchange and discussion of specific aspects of such experience.

However, this work does not appear to be as fruitful as it should be. Why? Ideas and habits concerning how to pass on advanced experience must be overhauled. We need tangible work and struggle, not words and theories.

It has been proved in theory and practice that our country bears petroleum and gas. Whether just below the surface or deep down, there is petroleum everywhere. The problem is to make continuous efforts to add to our achievements in discovering and extracting it. It is a task of the basic party organizations in the petroleum industry to reinforce sound convictions among specialists in all fields of geology, prospecting, in various enterprises, and in the Geological Institute, strongly criticizing all mistaken thinking.

A strong reliance upon science and advanced experience increases confidence and trust, and supports courageous initiative. Guesswork and rule of thumb are damaging to the petroleum industry. To begin to drill a well saying it will "surely" yield something, and with "question marks" from the very start, means to be fully aware of the loss of millions. This is damaging, and even culpable. The Politburo meeting then stressed the need to improve the elucidatory and applicative aspects of research projects, following properly Comrade Enver's teaching that we should pass from the familiar to the new. The need was also stressed of establishing a correct balance between shallow and deep seams. Only able, courageous, and creative people can do this. The meeting said that all managers and specialists should show constant care for considering problems deeply, scientifically, and in detail. Problems should not be passed over without being studied. Broad-based culture and habits of reading and study are necessary in order to ensure this and to acquire comprehensive and clear understanding.

The meeting also stressed once again Comrade Ramiz Alia's constant demand that scientific debate should become second nature to all working people and specialists in the petroleum industry, because otherwise the truth will never be discovered. Only incompetent people and those burdened by ideas involving diseased personal relationships avoid debate.

The petroleum industry today is equipped with technical resources and apparatus of a contemporary standard. The state will invest in whatever this sector requires, just as it has done in the past. But we must first of all fully exploit the resources we have. It is also the working people in petroleum themselves, more than anyone else, who will create the financial opportunities for investment in their own and other sectors by increasing petroleum production and exports.

The demands constantly made of the petroleum industry by the party, which were also stressed at the last meeting of the Politburo, insist that party organizations and communists of this sector at all its levels, from enterprises, institutions, and the General Petroleum and Gas Directorate, to the Ministry of Energy, should be in the front rank of work and struggle, confronting every difficulty. They must consider deeply the political and scientific arguments which show why they are to extract the petroleum themselves with the resources and opportunities that have been created for them. Only a correct understanding of this great principle can mobilize working people, from ordinary workers to the ministry. The ministry, it was said, must think deeply—politically, ideologically, and economically. There have been and will be difficulties, but, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has emphasized, these "can be confronted by setting party logic and communist determination in motion, and by encouraging people's self-confidence and zeal at work; they can be confronted when cadres and communists put themselves at the fore of the struggle, assume the responsibilities that belong to them, and do not rest until their tasks have been completely fulfilled and even overfulfilled."

The party committees in the districts of Fier, Vlore, and Berat have particular tasks in this context. They must acquaint themselves properly with the situation, and stand by people in order to boost their mobilization and encourage their initiative, struggling hard and incessantly to implement the party's decisions and instructions, not merely acting as conveyor belts. The analyses

and symposia of the party and the relevant managerial bodies must produce clear decisions and tangible, detailed, and verifiable instructions. Otherwise they will be prone to superfluous meetings and empty discussions. The tasks set before the petroleum industry are not few in number, but the Politburo meeting strongly put forward the need to carry them out.

Despite greater commitment on the part of the ministries and other institutions responsible for petroleum, not everybody is yet fulfilling their planned tasks. In the context of the shortcomings and deficits in the petroleum industry, the General Directorate of the Engineering Industry and the Ministry of Foreign Trade must do better in securing the necessary equipment, according to the plan, from domestic producers and from abroad. The Academy of Sciences and university specialists must improve themselves, the Ministry of Education must do better with its training of specialists, and the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts must improve their recruitment and treatment of the labor force.

Fulfilling plans, the Politburo meeting underlined, is the principal task. But the balance of the nation's energy account can only become stronger by boosting production, and by saving as much fuel as possible everywhere, especially petroleum and its byproducts. It is therefore a major task for the entire economy to save as much as possible, wherever it can.

The important tasks set for the petroleum and gas industry by the Politburo meeting can be achieved by placing party organizations and communists to the fore, by raising high the optimism and mobilization of cadres, specialists, and all working people in their labor, through more scientific research projects, more organization and coordination of work, and stricter discipline and supervision.

Editorial Board Defends Righteous Workers

AU1606155688 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Jun 88 p 2

[Sedat Braja article in feature entitled "In Reception of the People: The One in the Right Is Always Superior"]

[Text] Responding to the invitation to tackle various problems that may arise in the columns of the new feature "In Reception of the People," our editorial board has received a number of letters and we are citing some of them, since they deal with a common problem.

Levend Zotaj, mechanic at the Povelce Agricultural Enterprise in Fier District, wrote some time ago that he had been sent for a period of 6 months to do production work in the fields because he had had an exchange of words with the deputy team leader. The complainant states that he had been wrongfulgy treated, and he forwards some facts. He says that he was given a letter of commendation, but the president of the trade union committee refused to return it when he presented it for her signature.

Elida Tartari, store keeper in the fruit and vegetable enterprise in Tirana, was "temporarily" transferred to another job after having reported some cases of abuse and theft, because other store keepers refused to show solidarity with her.

Jorgo Kristiani, communist tailor in Permet writes: "Some time ago a colleague and I reported cases of abuse in our unit, mostly on the part of the person in charge. The case was verified, but I was penalized as disturber of unity because I insisted that matters be followed to their conclusion.

These complaints coming from the respective districts indicate one common problem. Instead of being thanked for their honest efforts with regard to the administration of property, the writers feel victimized. Having checked the cases, we reach the common conclusion that the resistance comes from particular mistaken individuals, as well as from the persons in charge who wish to keep things quiet and to keep them within the enterprise in order to protect its good reputation.

The people who raise these issues can be called "troublemakers," "letter-writers," and "door-knockers" only by immature people. The people love those who are upright, honest, and brave. Thefts, abuses, inefficiency, sloth, and bureaucracy are manifestations of the class struggle, which cannot be won without efforts. Matters become more difficult also because these conflicts arise among our own people and matters are not always clear-cut. It is not always the case that one side is completetly right and the other side completely wrong. The innovative worker from Povelce loves his work. But he may not always be tactful in his behavior toward cadres. In the same way, the cadre is not necessarily a complete bureaucrat, bad-tempered, and animated by vengeful feelings. The question is to oppose and remedy mistakes realistically and honestly, without exaggerating them, without trying to score a point toward a colleague or friend. We believe that it is up to the cadre to show himself more big-hearted, patient, and moderate. The quarrel between the deputy team leader and the innovator was considered by the judicial organs to have arisen through the fault of "both parties." However, for the same fault, the mechanic was sent to work as a simple agricultural hand for 6 months, whereas the deputy team leader was promoted to team leader and also rose from being a candidate AWP member to full member. (!?) Nevertheless, and regardless of what had happened, seeing the interest of the comrades in the district and of those in the General Council of Trade Unions, the worker forgave him, being satisfied with the fact that the problem had been resolved. (We think that the generosity of this worker should have induced the comrades in the trade

unions to be less generous with those who were responsible for his troubles.) In the same way, the tailor from Permet, who had been transferred for a period of 6 months to Kelcyre, returned to his previous place of work after the intervention of the district's AWP committee. The management of the Tirana fruit and vegetable enterprise and the cadre bureau also expressed their readiness to help the former store-keeper in finding a suitable place.

We believe that the problem goes further than this, however. The fact that these comrades were rehabilitated is fine, and it could not have been otherwise, because justice is on the side of those who are honest. They proceeded from sound motives and wanted to put things right.

But merely to give satisfaction to the complainant is a half solution. They were satisfied even before they entered into conflict and they would not have had any trouble if they had remained indifferent, if they had minded their own business. If these cases are resolved by restoring the status quo, this is like telling them indirectly: "From now on keep quiet and do not make trouble, because we cannot deal with you all the time!" The proper thing to do in order to give official backing to righteousness, would have been to take these cases to their logical conclusion from the beginning. It is not a question of giving maximal penalties one after the other, but a question of accepting mistakes, a question of remedying matters.

The complainants feel no particular pleasure in the fact that their cases have been resolved, because they did not proceed from personal motives. Everyone who is in the right must be certain that he will unfailingly win in the end. Those who are vengeful and abuse their positions may have the temporary support of a friend, comrade, or cadre who may now know the real state of affairs; but those who are in the right have the party and the people on their side.

If there are cases such as the aforementioned ones, when honest people "suffer," this can be only temporary. Such cases may be magnified and dramatized only by the weak, only by cowards who do so in an attempt to justify their own attitude of remaining withdrawn.

Public opinion, when learning that right has triumphed, has the right to ask: "What about the one who caused the trouble, did he get his just punishment?"

UN Deputy General Secretary Hinteregger Visits

AU1906193988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, Gerald Hinteregger, deputy secretary general of the United Nations and executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, arrived on 19 June in Bulgaria.

At Sofia airport the guest was greeted by Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Views East-West Relations

AU2106174188 Sofia BTA in English 1557 GMT 21 Jun 88

["Positive Changes in East-West Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 21 (BTA)—A high-ranking representative of the United National expressed satisfaction today over the development of the East-West relations, the relations between the USSR and the United States, and stressed that the improvement of the international climate has favourable effect on the trade-economic and techno-scientific contacts between states with different social systems.

Mr Gerald Hinteregger, UN deputy secretary general and executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), who is visiting this country at the invitation of Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov, commented, before journalists, on the possibilities for economic cooperation between the East and the West in the context of the new realities, of the development of the integrational processes in CMEA and the EEC. He stood for realisation of a number of projects in the framework of the ECE, for activation of the contacts on regional level, the Balkans included.

The guest thinks it necessary to work for the elimination of the obstacles of different character standing before the economic relations between states and for enhancement of the trade between the East and the West, which is far from the present potential of the two sides.

Bulgaria's work in ECE was assessed highly, as well as her contribution to the strengthening of the cooperation between the member states.

Addresses Foreign Policy Group

AU2106192988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] In Sofia today a session was held of the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission, at which Gerald Hinteregger, the visiting UN deputy secretary general and executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, spoke on the state of East-West economic relations and the prospects for their development.

In opening the session Milko Balev, chairman of the commission, emphasized the importance that Bulgaria attaches to the development of cooperation with other countries and to East-West economic relations. [passage indistinct]

Meets Atanasov, Ends Visit

AU2206142788 Sofia BTA in English 1355 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—Intensive and fruitful was the 4-day official visit of Mr Gerald Hinteregger, deputy secretary general of the United Nations and executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), in Bulgaria.

Today the guest had talks with Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Mr Gerald Hinteregger had also meetings with Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, Mr Milko Balev, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission with the National Assembly and member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, Mr Stoyan Markov, chairman of the Committee on Quality, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, Ms Drazha Vulcheva, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, with the leaderships of the "Energetika" association and the Committee for Environment Conservation. The high-ranking representative of the ECE had also talks with executives at the international departments of organizations taking part in the ECE activity.

The talks focused on the development of East-West relations, on cooperation between the European countries in the light of the new political realities and the positive changes in the international relations. Conviction was expressed that at present the role of the ECE, as the only constantly acting body in the framework of the United Nations for development of the East-West contacts, especially in the economic sphere, is constantly growing.

During the talks the sides expressed the opinion that ECE can and must contribute to the simplifying of the foreign trade procedures, to the carrying out of joint research work in different spheres, to the establishing of conditions for more efficient utilization of the possibilities for joint investments and foundation of joint enterprises, and to the development of the cooperation in environment preservation, energetics, transport, science and technology.

Special attention was paid to ECE's contribution to the activation of the cooperation on subregional level. The sides emphasised the relations between the Balkan states in the light of the recent meeting in Belgrade between the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states.

Mr Gerald Hinteregger was acquainted with the socio-economic changes in Bulgaria, with the processes of democratization of the economic life in this country, of the foreign economic relations, and with the new conditions for work of the foreign trade companies. During his meeting with Mr Georgi Atanasov the guest was informed of the aims of the restructuring, of the methods for implementation of the reforms.

It is of importance that objective information about the reforms in the socialist countries should be received, thinks the ECE executive secretary. He emphasised that in the framework of the commission a project is carried out with the participation of specialists from the West and from the East whose goal is to provide objective information about the restructuring underway in the socialist countries.

Mr Gerald Hinteregger assessed highly the previous activity of Bulgaria in the ECE and the constructive approach of this country to the solution of important questions.

Satisfaction was expressed on the Bulgarian side with the work of the commission, the executive secretary, and the secretariat headed by him.

Schabowski-Led GDR Delegation Arrives 15 Jun

AU1806143188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jun 88 p 4

[Text] A GDR delegation led by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the East Berlin Bezirk party leadership, arrived in Sofia on the evening of 15 June for the Berlin Days to be held in the capital.

At Sofia airport Guenter Schabowski and the delegation were welcomed by Ivan Panev, first secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee, and Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Council of Sofia City People's Council.

Egon Rommel, the GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, was also present.

Stoichkov Sees E. Berlin Mayor Krack

AU1706200088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Comrade Grigor Stoichkov received Erhard Krack, mayor of East Berlin, who is visiting Bulgaria for the Berlin Days in Sofia.

The visitor shared experience in the development of East Berlin. During the talks special attention was paid to methods for speedily solving the housing problem in the two cities. They discussed certain issues concerning the construction industry and the construction of the metro in East Berlin, as well as the overall solution of the transportation problems in the two cities.

Cooperation Documents Signed

AU1806185388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Ivan Panev, first secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee, and Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the East Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, signed an agreement on developing cooperation between the Sofia City BCP Committee and East Berlin Bezirk SED Committee.

The agreement provides for an expansion of the direct links between the party and social organizations and between district enterprises and institutes, as well as the broad exchange of experience on problems of the two capitals' socioeconomic and intellectual development.

A protocol was also signed by Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council, and Erhard Krack, mayor of East Berlin, which extends the period of validity of the agreement on cooperation and exchange of experience of 1983 between the Sofia City People's Council and the East Berlin Government.

Today the GDR delegation that is visiting for the Berlin Days in Sofia departed from Bulgaria.

Tanchev Leads Delegation to East Berlin

AU2106111488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] A Bulgarian delegation, headed by Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council and secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, departed for Berlin yesterday. The delegation will attend the international meeting on nuclear-free zones which is opening in the capital of the GDR today.

Egon Rommel, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to Bulgaria, was among the officials who saw off the delegation at Sofia airport.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Jakes Initiative

LD2206192188 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium today discussed steps to be taken to further elaborate the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at creating a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states.

It noted that people in Czechoslovakia and part of the international public have become aware of the initiative, declared last February, and the overwhelming majority have received it favourably.

The Presidium dealt with Czechoslovak foreign policy towards the Latin American countries. It noted with satisfaction that Czechoslovakia's relations with these countries have significantly intensified in the last few years. It voiced consent with measures which will lead to the further development of mutual relations with the countries of Latin America and to support for the struggle of Latin American nations for political and economic independence.

The Presidium discussed preparations for the first stage of reorganization in the national economy in which state enterprises are to be set up under new Czechoslovak legislation as of next July 1.

Jakes Addresses Peace Rally in Lisen

AU2306090588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 88 p 3

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, given at the "rally of peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship"; in Brno-Lisen on 19 June]

[Text] Esteemed fellow-citizens, comrades; I cordially greet all of you, the participants in this traditional peace manifestation in the memorable Gottwald Valley in Brno-Lisen, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, of the Central Committee of the National Front, and on behalf of the delegation which is present here. Permit me to congratulate Brno on its being awarded the appellation of honor—city of peace.

The peace rallies, which are being held each year in our country, are the expression of the Czechoslovak people's determination to contribute through honest work to the cause of peace and social progress. At these rallies our citizens manifest their loyalty to the ideals of socialism and the unshakable Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, for the strengthening of which the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society has been doing meritorious work.

This year 7 August will mark 50 years since precisely in this area, on the eve of the Munich tragedy, the historical meeting of thousands of workers and other strata of the Moravian working people was held, which was addressed by Klement Gottwald, whose memorial—as an expression of respect and gratitude—was justifiably built here, and was solemnly unveiled today. Klement Gottwald called for the unification of all social, progressive, and democratic forces for the defense of the Republic, and spoke against the threat of fascism and war. He warned against the consequences of the malign policy of concessions, which Czechoslovakia's Western allies were making to Hitler. He called on the then government to rest the people's determination to defend the Republic on the reliable foundations of an alliance with the first country of socialism. Klement Gottwald's patriotic appeal met with the unanimous support of that memorable rally.

The bitter lesson of the Munich betrayal, and the sacrifices which had to be made in the struggle for the restoration of our national freedom, led our people to the decision to never again permit the return of bourgeoisie rule and build a new Republic, which would belong to the working man. They also reaffirmed his conviction that the sole reliable external guarantee of our security, freedom, and independence can only be a firm alliance and brotherhood with the Soviet Union. The subsequent developments fully confirmed the correctness of that choice. We will continue to comprehensively develop and strengthen this alliance and brotherhood. This is the lasting and unchangeable direction of our policy.

For more than 40 years we have been able to work and live in peace. This is, in the first place, to the credit of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, of which we are an integral and firm part. This is the result of the efforts of the antiwar, democratic, and peace forces of the world, of all who have comprehended the vital necessity of peaceful coexistence of all states as the sole sensible alternative.

The comprehension of this reality has also given birth to the demand for new thinking in international relations. It proceeds from the conviction that ensuring a lasting peace and the survival of mankind in the nuclear age is the prime, most urgent task of the present. Its most marked manifestation is the bold, flexible, and pioneering foreign policy of the CPSU, the Soviet state, and the relentless efforts of Comrade Gorbachev. We support it fully and without reservations. It is a policy which has been meeting with an ever increasingly favorable response from nations of the whole world.

Ensuring the peaceful future of mankind requires, above all, a radical reduction—followed by the gradual elimination—of nuclear, chemical, and other weapons of mass destruction. The far-reaching constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries aim at achieving this objective. These proposals are the expression of political realism and a feeling of great responsibility for the fate of mankind. They have begun yielding the first positive results, as evidenced by the significant Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This treaty

constitutes an important step toward real disarmament. We believe that it will be followed by the conclusion of a Soviet-American agreement on a 50-percent reduction of offensive strategic weapons.

The recent highest level Soviet-American meeting, which was held in Moscow, was the confirmation of the willingness to proceed along the path toward a secure and peaceful future. It is correctly regarded as being a great event not only in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, but in world politics in general. Its results justify the hope that the positive developments in international relations, which we sincerely welcome, will continue. We fully support the standpoints expressed by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev during the deliberations with the U.S. President. They correspond with the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people.

Czechoslovakia holds a firm and dignified place in the struggle for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security, and in the development of peaceful cooperation for building a world without violence and weapons. We are actively striving to contribute with our work as much as possible to the implementation of the coordinated peace policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Together with the GDR we have launched a considerable political and diplomatic endeavor aimed at establishing zones without chemical and nuclear weapons in central Europe. We live in the most sensitive part of the European continent. This geographical position of ours and our historical experience oblige us to further seek new and effective ways to assert the policy of detente in this region.

The Czechoslovak initiative aimed at creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states is also centered here. We see it as a contribution to the broadest possible dialogue with interested countries, not only on military questions, but also on political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian questions. We believe that this effort of ours will contribute to the further development of the all-European process and to the improvement of mutual relations among the states of our continent.

Even though the favorable trends in international relations are a hopeful sign for the future, we do not ignore the fact that serious problems and risks still exist in the world. The struggle for a lasting peace, disarmament, and a secure world must not be slackened. Much must still be done to ensure that the positive changes in the international situation become irreversible. There is too much at stake—the fate of the present and future generations, the continuation of life on earth.

With the awareness of the exceptional importance of that effort on the international scene we also approach the solution of our domestic tasks. Even today the Klement Gottwald slogan "Build Your Fatherland, You Will Strengthen Peace!" has lost none of its topicality.

Our rally is taking place as we are carrying out, in all sectors of public life, the strategic line established by the 17th CPCZ Congress aimed at accelerating social and economic development. Its successful attainment calls for energetically pushing through new approaches everywhere; for not being afraid to critically reassess and to change what has outlived its usefulness, what has failed; and to proceed consistently along the road of restructuring and democratization in line with the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. In this we lean on the reliable foundations and great accomplishments of socialism. We took stock of the results of the socialist journey we have traversed up to now on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Victorious February. They are the embodiment of the selfless work of millions of our workers, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia, and other strata of the working people, which we hold in profound regard.

Life, however, does not stand still. Each period always puts forward new demands. This is why we must today see the new requirements and tasks that development brings. We must tackle them in a new way so as to reach a higher level of socialist society, keeping abreast of rapid changes in the world brought about, in particular, by the scientific-technical revolution. This also means that we must deal resolutely with all negative phenomena that stand in the way of the further healthy development of our society. It means that we must not conceal problems that have accumulated, but instead mobilize forces to overcome them. We also must not remain silent about existing shortcomings or tolerate them. It is necessary to give a clear answer to them, and tackle them. If we do not do this, someone else will, and there is no guarantee that this will be done from socialist positions. We must never be indifferent to something that harms socialism, that is at odds with social justice and socialist morality, that shackles and impedes the initiative and creativity of people. We must especially resolutely eliminate manifestations of bureaucratism that are at variance with the objectives and purpose of our policy, which serves the people.

We want socialism in our country to be stronger and more attractive. We want socialist principles to be applied consistently everywhere and the development of our society to take on the desirable dynamism. We want people to be able to work and live better. This is the basic purpose of the economic and social restructuring we have begun carrying out. Our prime concern is to implement economic reform and broad democratization of the political, economic, and intellectual life, and extensively apply socialist self-management.

We have adopted restructuring at the initiative of the CPCZ, and we are putting it into practice under its leadership. We did not decide to institute it under pressure, but are proceeding from our own conditions. This is not an indication of some kind of weakness. We have been compelled to do so because of the objective

requirements of further developing our society in a way that corresponds to the new demands of the time. Its purpose is quite unequivocally to strengthen our social system—socialism. Those who think that they can misuse restructuring and democratization to weaken and subvert society are mistaken. In our endeavor we are inspired by the impulses and experience of the CPSU, in which we have found a profound source of instruction. The Theses adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on the preparation for the 19th All-Union Conference of Soviet Communists have met with great interest. Its results will undoubtedly be another valuable contribution to our work in carrying out profound changes in all spheres of life in our society. We are sending to the Soviet Communists, the people of the Soviet Union, our friends, militant greetings, wishing them successful implementation of the tasks of restructuring and democratization, and the implementation of the conclusions which the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will adopt.

Restructuring is not a slogan for us. It has become the matter of everyday political and organizational work and specific practical course. At issue are the far-reaching revolutionary steps that concern the position and activity of central bodies, enterprises, the National Front and its organizations, national committees—in short, all citizens. Restructuring will extend their rights and independence, but will also increase their accountability. It will put higher demands, above all, on the quality of work. For it to succeed, the key thing for it is to become the innermost matter of the broadest strata of the people, and for the working people to feel and act as real managers in their enterprise, cooperative, village, and the entire state.

We value the support extended by the citizens to the policy of our party and our state, to the course on which we have embarked. The important thing is that this support should everywhere be transformed into practical actions, work results. Regarding this I would like to express appreciation for the selfless work done in the past period by the inhabitants of South Moravia in factories, in the fields, in science, education, and culture, in the cities and in the countryside of this beautiful region. The Central Committee of our party is convinced that you will continue to exert all your energy for an even more significant contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks of economic and social restructuring.

We say frankly that restructuring is a complex and demanding process. It requires great effort, tenacity, and time to overcome many obstacles and difficulties. One also has to reckon with the fact that developments will raise new questions and problems, and we will have to find the necessary solutions to tackle them. This, however, must not deter us. Like 50 years ago at the rally held here in this valley—when Klement Gottwald mobilized all forces to tackle the main task, which at that time was to stand up in defense of the Republic against the threat of fascism and war—today, under the current conditions, the fundamental task facing us is to do all we can for peace, for the success of restructuring and democratization of society. There is no other way if we want to achieve desirable progress for our country; push through the intensification of the economy; apply faster the results of scientific and technological progress; carry out structural changes in the economy; and accelerate the pace of international socialist integration, specialization, and production sharing. Only in this way will it be possible to reliably ensure the further growth in our people's standard of living and to strengthen social guarantees.

It has been stressed many times that we can distribute only what we have created. Therefore, we must everywhere consistently link the effort for economic and social restructuring with the fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan and of the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in industry, agriculture, and in other spheres, link it with immediately improving the quality and efficiency of production, with speeding up innovation, and with asserting strict thriftiness, order, and discipline. You yourself know best how many problems and shortcomings we grapple with here. There is no reason just to look on and wait until the economic reform is comprehensively implemented. There is much untapped potential in directly managing and organizing work, in correctly channeling the activity and initiative of the working people; in increasing accountability toward society; and in justly remunerating individuals and collectives according to the real results of their work.

Open policy, a broad flow of information to the public and, also, the participation of people in control are an integral part of society's restructuring and democratization. We want our citizens to be well aware of the task and problems facing us. We want them to know how and what the party, state, and social bodies and organizations are resolving, and to be able to openly express their views, suggestions, and recommendations on those matters. We are completely in favor of an open, democratic dialogue, of a broad development of criticism and self-criticism. This is an important prerequisite for our society's more rapid advancement. However, only a dialogue and criticism which is conducted honestly and responsibly, not in the interest of weakening, but in the interest of strengthening socialism, can fulfill this role.

All our citizens, regardless of their political conviction or religious faith, have constitutionally ensured equal rights. Our social system provides broad scope for everyone who wants to contribute to the development of socialism. However, the activities of those forces which are trying to misuse all possible opportunities, including the religious beliefs of citizens, to anti-state objectives and under the mantle of democracy, provoking unrest and tension in our society, have nothing in common with this. These are efforts which are at variance with the interests of an absolute majority of the people and even believers and clergymen, who want to work and live in tranquility as good citizens of our state. To these forces, supported from abroad, any difficulty we might have,

any fabrication comes in handy for besmudging socialism, and our domestic and foreign policy. They even count on misusing restructuring and democratization to weaken and destroy socialist values. But we will not permit anything of that sort. We have sufficient lessons from the crisis at the end of the 1960's.

The most important thing is to continue uniting the party and the people, the strength of the entire society on the platform of our National Front for honest and constructive work for socialism and peace. Tenaciously winning and renewing the people's faith in the policy of the Communist Party and the values of socialism is a principle which applies, in particular, to Communists, who should be an example at the head of restructuring and democratization. Also here I would like to quote the words of Klement Gottwald, which he said here, in Lisen, in his speech at a celebration of the people of the Brno region, organized by the CPCZ on 1 September 1946. I quote: "I know that the trust of the people is a priceless thing, that it must be redeemed by long struggles, long suffering, and long and hard work. And at the same time we know that this trust can be retained, that it can be retained and multiplied only through repeatedly manifested efforts for the well-being of the people, for the well-being of the nation and the Republic." (quote ends.)

Let us never forget that the victory of socialism in our country is the greatest revolutionary achievement of our people. The greatest duty of all for us is to guard it like an apple of our eye, and comprehensively develop and strengthen it.

Esteemed comrades; we have the necessary internal and external conditions for achieving the bold objectives we have set ourselves. The important thing is to step up our stride in all sectors, enhance determination and selflessness. May the common honest work of all of us contribute to the prosperity of our socialist fatherland.

Trusting the creative forces and abilities of our people, in firm unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we will continue on the path of restructuring and democratization of our society, on the path of socialism and peace!

Janak Receives Ukrainian Delegation Leader

LD2206134988 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received in Bratislava today Valentina Shevchenko, head of a delegation of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

They exchanged experiences from the implementation of the programs of the two fraternal Communist Parties' congresses and spoke about the the improvement in forms and methods of work of party and state bodies in the interest of successful advancement of restructuring and democratization of society.

Austria's Mock on Bilateral Relations

AU2206154688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jun 88 p 7

[Report by RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA correspondents Jozef Janto and Jan Lipavsky: "A. Mock on Austro-Czechoslovak Relations; For Good Neighborliness"]

[Text] Vienna (Our correspondents)—At a press conference held in Vienna on Monday [20 June], A. Mock, Austria's vice chancellor and minister for foreign affairs, stressed that the policy of neighborliness is one of the two pillars of Austrian policy in Europe. At the press conference he praised the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria, which he addressed in connection with the upcoming visit by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to the CSSR.

The conference was attended by a group of Czechoslovak journalists who are in Austria at the invitation of the federal government.

A. Mock stressed, in particular, cultural contacts with Czechoslovakia and expressed the belief that it also is possible to systematically cooperate in the protection of the environment.

Vice Chancellor Mock remarked that relations with Czechoslovakia have acquired a new quality, but noted at the same time that for many reasons they have been more complicated than Austria's relations with other neighbors. He expressed the belief that even though misunderstandings might arise in the future, things will develop in the correct direction toward good neighborliness.

Asked by RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA about the Austrian Government's stand on the results to date of the talks between Czechoslovak and Austrian representatives, he said: The important thing is that everything we are doing could proceed even faster.

On the proposal submitted by Milos Jakes on the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, A. Mock said that all initiatives of this nature are welcome in Europe, since they strengthen good relations among states and nations, and aim at greater security, trust, and flexibility between states.

Replying to a question by one of the Austrian journalists on how he views the church policy of the CSSR, he said, among other things, that above all it is necessary to respect the special features [zvlastnosti] of this policy. The Austrian side sees positive developments in this sphere, Mock stressed.

Stefanek Confers With PCF's Gremetz in Paris

AU2206132888 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jun 88 p 5

[CTK correspondent's report: "Tradition of PCF-CPCZ Relations"]

[Text] Paris—Maxime Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee, received Michal Stefanak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department, in Paris yesterday. The two representatives briefed each other on the activities of their parties and exchanged views on the further development of their cooperation. Maxime Gremetz briefed the Czechoslovak guest in detail on the course and results of the recent parliamentary elections in France and on the party's work in new conditions. In connection with the process of restructuring in the USSR, CSSR, and other socialist countries he stressed that it is positively projected also in the activity of communist parties and other progressive and democratic movements in the West. Michal Stefanak highly assessed the good and frequent contacts between the PCF and the CPCZ, which are rooted in the rich traditions of their mutual relations, and expressed the conviction that bilaterally advantageous cooperation would continue to grow in strength.

Jakes Receives L'HUMANITE Director

LD1606204888 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today member of the French Communist Party Political Bureau and L'HUMANITE director Roland Leroy and member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Secretariat and RUDE PRAVO Editor-in-chief Zdenek Horeni.

Milos Jakes outlined the main features of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and social life in Czechoslovakia and the main tasks of Communists and other working people in its implementation. He said that deepening democratization is the core of the current changes in the country and in this connection stressed the significance of an open exchange of views on problems and on the creation of conditions for the activity of people.

Roland Leroy informed Milos Jakes of the tasks of French Communists.

The two representatives expressed content with the continuing Soviet-U.S. dialogue and the process of gradual relaxation of tension in international relations.

PRC Minister Wei Jianxing Pays Visit

Meets With Strougal

LD1806144388 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal had a meeting in Prague today with Wei Jianxing, the Chinese minister of supervision. They reviewed a broad range of issues concerning state supervision, its efficiency, and the use of its results for management, administration, and the economy in both countries. Both statesmen agreed on the irreplaceable role of supervision, and its particular importance at a time of systemic changes and the introduction of economic reform. Lubomir Strougal stressed the importance of exchanging findings and experiences, which both our states have been doing for several years now. The Chinese guest spoke particularly highly of the standard of work of our people's Control Committee and of the importance of the findings we have obtained.

Departs 20 Jun

AU2306104688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jun 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A delegation of the PRC Ministry of Supervision led by Minister Wei Jianxing, which familiarized itself with the activity of the CSSR People's Control Committee and other components of the control system in Czechoslovakia, left Prague on Monday [20 June].

Mongolian Premier To Visit in July

LD2206162188 Prague CTK in English 1540 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 22 (CTK)—Mongolian Premier Dumaagiyn Sodnom will arrive for a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the beginning of July.

The visit will take place at the invitation of Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal.

Economic Talks With Peru Conclude

LD1606221188 Prague CTK in English 1904 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 16 (CTK)—A Peruvian delegation led by Minister-President of the Foreign Trade Institute Enrique Cornejo ended here today trade and political talks with Czechoslovak representatives.

A final document contains a series of suggestions concerning trade and economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Peru which is the third largest trade partner of Czechoslovakia in Latin America (after Brazil and Argentina).

The talks concentrated on the supply of 15 complete diesel engines worth 27 million dollars from Czechoslovakia to Peru. The two sides also agreed that Czechoslovakia will import coffee from Peru in exchange for textile machines, tractors, tyres and malt.

Both sides agreed on cooperation in the construction of other projects in the sphere of engineering and mining industry. Higher forms of trade and economic cooperation were also discussed.

Hoffman Opens Party Secretaries Meeting

LD2306084088 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] The national meeting of leading secretaries of the regional and district committees of the CPCZ and the CPSL opened in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle today.

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, opened the 2-day session. He said that the purpose of the meeting is to assess the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th party congress and of the 7th and 9th session of the party Central Committee and to evaluate the way in which these conclusions are understood and implemented. The meeting is to contribute to ensuring a united course of party actions in the implementation of the tasks of restructuring and democratization.

The main report is being delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central Committee.

News Conference Held on New Economic Code

LD1706145988 Prague CTK in English 1232 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Prague June (CTK)—Amendments to the Czechoslovak economic code approved on Wednesday are aimed at creating—together with other laws of the restructuring of the economic mechanism—the scope for promoting enterprise of economic organizations and at the same time guiding their activity so that it is not at variance with the interests of society.

The aims of the new legislation were explained at a press conference today by Czechoslovak Chief Arbiter Slavoj Vanek. The economic code, passed by the Federal Assembly earlier this week, will come into effect on July 1.

Slavoj Vanek said that the amendments will enable economic organizations to extend their activities also to spheres which are not defined in their founding documents or statutes. At the same time they protect society against undesirable changes in restructuring...this is why economic arbitration bodies will decide in disputes over compensation for damage between enterprises and bodies of economic management", the chief arbiter said.

In 1984, 53,000 disputes were presented to arbitration bodies and in 1987 this number was 77,000. The number of economic disputes can be expected to further increase in the new conditions, Slavoj Vanek said.

Of restructuring...this is why economic arbitration bodies will decide in disputes over compensation for damage between enterprises and bodies of economic management", the chief arbiter said. [sentence as received]

In 1984, 53,000 disputes were presented to arbitration bodies and in 1987 this number was 77,000. The number of economic disputes can be expected to further increase in the new conditions, Slavoj Vanek said.

Rohlicek Discusses State Enterprises Law

AU2206113188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 88 p 3

["From the expose" of Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR first deputy premier, presented at the joint meeting of the chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 14 June]

[Text] The CSSR Government has submitted to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations the Draft Law on State Enterprises for discussion and approval.

Exceptional attention was devoted to the preparation of this law. Its draft was submitted for a nationwide discussion, whose conclusions were assessed, among other things, at the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session. The initiative of the deputies of our highest legislative body, which manifested itself in the efforts of the commission of the two chambers' deputies, in the May meeting of experts, and the subsequent activity of the committees of the two chambers was considerably important for the elaboration of the law. The participation of the deputies in the creation of the draft law made it possible to include in it—in the preparatory stage—a number of the deputies' recommendations.

The aforementioned draft proceeds from the concept of the acceleration of economic and social development, initiated by the 17th CPCZ Congress. The draft is the essence of the political and economic objectives of restructuring as they are expressed in the Principles for the Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism, in the

directives for its implementation and, especially, in the resolution of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session on the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The fundamental objective of restructuring is to create conditions for a more effective use of the advantages of socialist production relations by broadening the scope for the creative initiative of the working people. This requires making important changes in the status, tasks, and mutual relations of state bodies and economic organizations.

Regarding central bodies it is necessary not only to maintain, but also to strengthen the central management of the fundamental strategic and programmatic tasks, and to ensure the equilibrium of and the proportionality between economic and social development. This requires formulating their role, sphere of authority, and structure anew and differently from their present state.

This means focusing the function of the center on management based, in particular, on the principle of the uniformity of economic criteria and long-term normative rules. It means at the same time shifting the center's activity to the sphere of long-term programmatic strategy while determining the national social and economic goals and the fundamental ways to achieve them. It is necessary to restrict operative [operativni], short-term, or administratively-directive interference in the activity of economic organizations.

The change in the center's role is connected with the fundamental strengthening of the independence of the enterprises in all spheres of economic and social activity, and with the corresponding enhancement of their comprehensive accountability for achieved results. We want to create state enterprises which are independent and forced by economic circumstances to satisfy the needs of their customers as efficiently as possible. Creative enterprises, which will apply modern management principles, will be capable of and internally motivated to plan for long-term development and taking calculated enterpreneurial risks—all this in accordance with the intentions of the plan and within the centrally determined rules. This is the main purpose of the Draft Law on State Enterprises, which we are to assess.

The draft law proceeds from Marxist-Leninist economic theory, from its findings on the management of large socioeconomic systems and from the generalization of our experience and the experience of the other socialist states. The text of the law is conceived in such a way as to constitute a system which amends, in particular, the standing, legal conditions, and principles of the activity of a state enterprise as the basic component of the national economy. According to the draft law an enterprise is fulfilling three main, interconnected tasks: comprehensively satisfying the needs of society, multiplying a part of social property which has been entrusted to it, and raising the standard of living of its own collective and its members.

Satisfying the needs of society is the main task of the enterprises. A task upon whose fulfillment depends the possibility and the extent of the fulfillment of other tasks. Only to the degree to which it meets the needs of consumers, an enterprise can acquire resources to fulfill its obligations vis-a-vis the state, and for a more extensive replacement process of its production assets and raising the standard of living of its work collectives. This unequivocally arises from the law. The essence of this change is in that the criterion for the assessment and stimulation of enterprises is no longer the degree of the fulfillment of the plan's indicators as has been the case to date, but the extent of the de facto fulfillment of the consumers' needs.

In order that an enterprise can fulfill its mission, it must maintain, multiply, and make rational use of the common property entrusted to it.

In the course of the work on the law, the question was discussed regarding its harmony with the Constitution in connection with the departure from the concept of the administration of national property and state ownership.

The term socialist national ownership is not at variance with our socialist Constitution, because between the term state socialist ownership and socialist national ownership there is no difference. It is only a different ideological expression of identical concepts, which emphasizes the universality of the economic power of the entire society regarding national property. It is ownership which is identical with the ownership of all people, as described in Article 8 of the Constitution.

The use of the term socialist national ownership has been motivated by the requirements of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society, by the effort to give to this form of socialist ownership a shape which would best correspond to the essence of the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The purpose of this concept is to create conditions for an active and direct relationship of work collectives in state enterprises toward the property entrusted to them. The explanatory statement analyzes this matter in detail. The substantial thing here is that the stipulations of the law ensure the indivisibility of socialist social ownership.

The duty of enterprises to multiply the property entrusted to them also has important economic contexts. It is, in particular, at direct variance with the practice of redistribution and subsidies, with which the losses of enterprises doing poorly used to be balanced to the detriment of those which were doing well. Therefore, the main expression of the independence of new enterprises is their managing on the basis of self-financing as the fundamental principle of economic accountability.

A state enterprise is not only a production-economic system, but also a complex of social relations. Its most important component are people, members of a work collective, who engage in mutual relations in production, in order—by their participation in collective work—to satisfy, in fundamental accord with national needs, their own interests and needs. From the law it arises that an enterprise ensures raising the standard of living of its work collective in two ways—through the increase of wages and the distribution of resources from the fund of cultural and social needs. Both depend on the achieved final results of its economic activity.

The draft law proceeds from the commodity nature of production and circulation being an integral part of socialist economic relations. State enterprise is regarded as a socialist goods producer. The purpose of the activity of all manufacturers of goods was and is to satisfy the demand of the state, other producers, or citizens. Experience reveals that in a planned economy, too, one has to create conditions for such behavior.

To make this possible, the state plan must work with economically objective value quantities, proceed from objectively existing conditions on the market, and create conditions for enterprises to behave in an enterpreneurial fashion. Thus what is involved is not opening scope for a fortuitous operation of the value law, but recognizing the objectivity of the operation of this law and using it in a planned manner for the needs of the socialist economy's development.

State enterprises will be managed on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. Therefore, the draft law consistently delineates the powers of the central and enterprises managements in such a way as not to splinter accountability, and uselessly administratively interfere in the activity of enterprises. At the same time, the draft law ensures that all main instruments of the management and control of enterprises remain in the hands of the state. The exactingness of management and the control on behalf of the state will strengthen, they will become economically more efficient.

They will be carried out through normative methods of planning, creating an exacting economic environment, strengthening the position of consumers vis-a-vis producers and the trade, of allocations, and—in particular—value instruments, such as prices, levies, taxes, interest, exchange rates, and such like. At the same time, however, the law ensures that the resources in the funds created by an enterprise cannot be taken away from it.

In no case does the law combine the substantial enhancement of the economic independence of enterprises while weakening the principle of management according to plan. However, the thing that must change are the methods and forms of its realization. The draft law creates for it the legislative foundation and framework because it sees the 5-year state plan of the economic and social development as the basic instrument of central management by the state. At the same time the 5-year plan of an enterprise's economic and social development, which is approved by a meeting of the work collective, must ensure mandatory state planned targets.

An important and new element in the activity of state enterprises is the stipulation that the work collective undertake socialist self-management, which is an expression of deepening socialist democracy.

The experience from the development of socialism in our and the other socialist countries has revealed that social ownership of production means alone does not automatically create the corresponding relationship toward social property in the consciousness of collectives and individuals. Giving this relationship its true content and making true managers of the working people requires making—together with the economic measures—corresponding changes in the system of the state enterprise's management.

The CPCZ Central Committee and the government proceed from that the high degree of political commitment, education, skill, and culture of our working people are the guarantee of a responsible application of the principles of socialist self-management, is the guarantee that the expansion and deepening of the real participation by work collectives in the administration and multiplication of social ownership will become the foundation for a more efficient utilization of the advantages of socialism.

Permit me, regarding this, to recall Lenin's ideas, because precisely in the involvement of the masses in management Lenin saw an effective instrument for the improvement of the work of the apparatus of the socialist state, and a tried and tested manner of struggle against bureaucratism, ossification, and conceit. It was not for nothing that Lenin called the involvement of the working people in everyday activity a "miraculous device" which boosts the strength of the state tenfold, and which not a single bourgeois state has ever had and cannot have. Thus the concept of socialist self-management is constructed in such a way as to make its bodies decide the most important issues of fundamental importance for the life and work of work collectives. For example, involved are issues such as the plan, the final account, the use of profits, the election and recall of the director. The draft law sees socialist self-management as a rational division of accountability within the framework of a unified planned system of management.

Self-management of a work collective does not constitute the abandonment of the principle of the management of a state enterprise by one chief. It means that the management of an enterprise under the new conditions will be carried out on the basis of combining management by one leading worker with the self-management of a work collective.

An enterprise will be managed by a director who is responsible for the results of the enterprise's activity and acts on behalf of the enterprise in all matters that concern it. He makes independent decisions in all matters that concern the enterprise, provided his decisions are not subject to the assent of the self-management of the enterprise's work collective.

In the Draft Law on State Enterprises one still uncommon term is used—socialist entrepreneurship. It must be understood as an independent and legal utilization of the part of socialist national property and other production factors which have been entrusted to the enterprise, to acquire income from satisfying the needs of users with products, work, and services. Precisely socialist self-management should contribute to the development of entrepreneurial initiative among socialist producers.

The new status of an enterprise also requires a new formulation of the content of the organizations' socialist competition. It must be developed as an integral part of the utilization of the creative forces of work collectives and the enterpreneurial initiative of the management of the enterprise. The competition will center on most comprehensively satisfying the demand of domestic and foreign customers—users and consumers—for high quality products capable of competing. This principle of the understood competition must permeate all levels of management structures, must suppress egalitarian approaches and unhealthy monopolization. We will continue to support this competition in a planned manner by expanding the powers of organizations to engage in various production, trade, and foreign trade activities, by expanding their powers to choose the manner of selling and purchasing, by making use of involvement in the international division of labor. The state will create conditions for the competition between our own and imported products on the domestic market, it will establish a larger number of enterprises, especially in the sphere of the production of consumer goods, providing services, and such like. In all these instances it will be a competition of the socialist kind which, together with the operation of the entire economic mechanism, will lead to better satisfying the needs of the working people.

One of the fundamental prerequisites for the successful development of the national economy is the necessity to respect the specific nature and the changeability of the social renewal process in various spheres and branches of the economy. Therefore, the draft law provides for the application of diverse organizational forms of enterprises and with a prompt adaptation of organizational structures to pragmatic tasks as they develop in the economy. Room is being created for the establishment of various types of enterprises in regard to their size, activity, and internal system. Apart from large enterprises, also small- and medium-size enterprises should be established, with a specialized production or trade profile and with great innovative activity.

From this interpretation of organizational systems it arises that the legal status and absolute economic accountability of an enterprise, as well as the responsibility of the director and the council of the work collective in the sense of the draft law, are integral and can concern only one component of management, that is, the enterprise. Thus we cannot stick to the present state of affairs, when one legal subject of the enterprise sphere (the enterprise) is subordinate to another legal subject (the general directorate of an economic production unit).

The draft also ensures the development of direct relations between our enterprises and the economic organizations of the CEMA member states. In this way the law will also support the gradual convergence of the economic mechanisms of the socialist states. And here it is equally important that our draft law, similarly to the Soviet law, sees the state enterprise as a socialist producer of goods, as the basic component and integral part of a united and planned socialist economy, as an organization whose management is based on total economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management.

The draft law fully proceeds from the constitutional principle of the party's leading role in society. With the growing role of the self-management system, the leading role of the party will objectively deepen, especially from the viewpoint of ensuring the national interests in the national economy.

The party organizations in enterprises are the political nucleus of work collectives, they control the activity of the enterprise's economic management and direct, through their members, the activity of the self-management bodies of enterprises and other social organizations.

The role of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] in asserting the interests and safeguarding the rights of the working people as the guarantor of collective contracts and the closest partner in organizing and renumerating work is also increasing. The law ensures that the ROH, together with the other organizations of the National Front, will participate in the activity of the self-management bodies of the enterprise.

The draft law establishes the duties of enterprises in a number of other spheres; among other things, for example, cooperating with the appropriate national committees, on the territory of which their operations are located. This cooperation should be mutually advantageous, and the enterprise must respect the legal status of the national committees.

A number of questions, recommendations, and suggestions were proposed in the course of the discussion of the government Draft Law on State Enterprises at joint meetings of the two chambers' committees. The pragmatic changes as well as those of a legislative-technical nature, which those committees recommended for

approval by the plenary session today, contribute to the improvement of the final text of the law and will improve its clarity and intelligibility.

The issue of industrial rights in connection with the ongoing restructuring of the organizational structures of the production-technical, scientific-research, and the circulation base to state enterprises elicited much attention when the draft law was discussed in the constitutional-legal committees. It was proposed that internal organizational units of a state enterprise be permitted to act in their own name in the sphere of industrial rights, that is, that these internal organizational units be accorded the status of a legal entity in that sphere. Attention was drawn to the fact that should the now existing enterprises—proprietors of protected trade marks, designations of origin, or brand names—become an internal organizational unit of a state enterprise, that is, should they lose their hitherto status of legal entity, the consequence would be that the rights to protected trademarks, designations of origin, and brand names would become extinct.

In the end the constitutional-legal committees of the Federal Assembly did not approve the aforementioned recommendation concerning the accordance of the status of a legal entity in this connection. Its approval would constitute intervention in the concept of the law, which proceeds from the integrity and entirety of the legal status of a state enterprise, expressed by the principle that internal organizational units of a state enterprise act in public on behalf of the enterprise, but not in their own name. Abandoning this principle would mean construing a subject within a subject, which would make it necessary to solve at the same time also the mutual relations of these subjects along the vertical axis, above all their management and property relations. However, the consequence of this would be the violation of the principle of the direct relation between the center and the enterprise, which constitutes one of the key principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in general.

When we stress the great importance of the Law on State Enterprises, we do this with the awareness that despite the immense importance this is one of the components of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. What is involved is restructuring of all production, distribution, exchange, and consumption relations under socialism, and therefore it is a very extensive and exacting process, involving many problems. It will affect all spheres of the planning, organization, and management of the entire Czechoslovak economy. It will affect all of us. This process must be realized consistently, by legal means. In its consequences, this is not only economic, but also profound legal reform. It is obvious that successfully concluding the process of restructuring will require that the present very intensive and fruitful cooperation between the central bodies and our legislative bodies continues.

Border Negotiations Held With Poland
AU2306095088 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 22 Jun 88 p 2

["H.Z." article: "East Berlin and Warsaw Negotiate on Border Issue"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR—The GDR and Poland are currently negotiating on controversial border issues. The GDR Foreign Ministry in East Berlin has confirmed that the delimitation of territories in the Pomeranian Bay is at issue. In Poland official reports on the border issue were published as early as last October. As has become known in Warsaw, in the 12-mile zone that is claimed by both sides, there have been repeated incidents in the past in which GDR border patrol boats seized Polish ships. According to an ADN report the forthcoming meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski is supposed to help bring about agreement. The two party-state leaders will meet in Wroclaw on 24 June.

Honecker Receives Argentine Presidential Envoy
LD2206121688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0925 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, held talks this morning with Secretary of State Aldo Tessio, representative of the president of the Republic of Argentina. Alfredo C. Pons Benitez, Argentine ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, also took part in the talk in the Council of State Building.

Honecker Confers With Olympic Official
LD2206120688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1022 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee [IOC], was warmly welcomed this morning in the Council of State building. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, welcomed the representative of the Olympic movement and had a long and friendly conversation with him.

Also taking part were Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State; Manfred Ewald, president of the German Gymnastics and Sports Association and of the GDR Olympic Committee; as well as other officials.

Fischer Meets With Arab League's Klibi
LD2206121288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1029 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer had a friendly exchange of views today with Chedli Klibi, general secretary of the Arab League. General Secretary Klibi spoke about the results of the Arab states summit in Algiers. He expressed satisfaction that the GDR welcomed the decisions taken in Algiers and said he shares the GDR foreign minister's view that the new possibilities for the political solution of regional conflicts must also be used to bring about a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

The two men agreed that these possibilities should be realized in the constructive dialogue of all those involved and with consideration for the interests of each side for an early convening of an international Middle East conference. But no real peace can be achieved in the region without equal participation of the PLO in the efforts for a settlement and with a guarantee of the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent state.

Oskar Fischer reaffirmed that the GDR will continue unchangingly its active solidarity with the fight of the Palestinian people.

Oskar Fischer and Chedli Klibi described their meeting as a continuation of the long-standing friendly dialogue between the GDR and the Arab League.

Lorenz Received by Greek Communist Leader
LD2206223988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1845 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Athens, 22 Jun (ADN)—Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, on Wednesday in Athens received Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt SED Bezirk Executive, for an exchange of views on current political issues and fraternal cooperation between the two parties. Florakis reported on the work of his party for the strengthening of the peace movement and the inclusion of the broadest circles of the people primarily in the fight against the U.S. nuclear weapons and bases on Greek territory. Lorenz reported on the extraordinarily successful international meeting for nuclear free zones in Berlin. The GDR, he said, is continuing its policy directed at peace and disarmament, and supports all initiatives which serve the aim of the elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

Lorenz is leading an SED delegation from Karl-Marx-Stadt which will visit the twinned area of Thessaly and will conduct talks on the further deepening of relations between the two parties.

Data on Social Insurance Benefits Released
AU2006132688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Jun 88 p 3

[Text] As a result of the socio-political measures enacted in our state, especially since the Eighth SED Congress, social insurance benefits have increased dramatically. These benefits are part of the representation of interests

by the trade unions, and they promote the social security of the working people, pensioners, and their families. The benefits include free health care, medicine, and free hospitalization, even when very expensive medical care is involved.

—While M3.7 billion were spent for social insurance in 1949, the founding year of the GDR, in 1988 trade-union social insurance benefits will amount to more than M30 billion, or even more than M35 billion when the social insurance benefits of the GDR State Insurance Institution are included.

—The benefits per insured person, that is, workers, employees, apprentices, students, pensioners, and family members, increased from M878 in 1970 to almost M2,000 this year.

—A subsidy of M14.3 billion will be provided for social security from the budget. In 1949 our state was not able to provide additional means for social insurance.

The insurance benefits increased without raising the contributions paid by the insured people by as much as a pfennig. For example, the share of the insured people in financing benefits has been constantly reduced in the past years and amounts to less than M23 today.

These are the most important items in the 1988 social insurance expenditure:

For pensions	M13.5 billion
For sick benefits	M 4.1 billion
For out- and in-patient treatment by the state health system and for medicine	almost M10 billion
For cures	M343 million
For pregnancy and maternity allowances	M824 million
For welfare payments for mothers after the expiration of maternity leave	M712 million
For medication and healing trea	M329 million

Man Sentenced for Smuggling Romanians

LD1706151388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] A young man has been sentenced to 2 years' in jail by a court in Gyoer for helping people to cross the border illegally. In exchange for a Dacia car and 100,000 forints, (Laszlo Vanicsek) helped four Romanian citizens to hide on a goods train headed for Austria. However during checks at Sopron, border guards discovered the Romanians who were later handed back to the Bucharest authorities.

Action to Aid Romanian Refugees

AU2106123188 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Jun 88 p 3

[MTI report: "Action Taken by Pecs Council; Young Lawyers Support Resettled People From Transylvania"]

[Text] Young lawyers began activities to aid the refugees from Transylvania. First of all, they offered their professional knowledge; the Budapest organizations dealing with refugees received the list of names of those lawyers who provide assistance by giving them legal support on every matter, free of charge. They also offer material support; so far, the sum collected through voluntary and individual aid reached 456 thousand forints, which will be delivered to those in need by the Red Cross and by churches.

In order to help solve various individual problems of people in Romania who wish to resettle in our country, the Pecs Municipal council set up a special service department. The staff of the Council's departments and its entire apparatus volunteered to help in the operation of this new service, which provides broader and more detailed general information. For those who have arrived and seek information from Baranya County Council, the offices of the council's Executive Committee are open every Monday and Wednesday and offer very detailed information on how these people can solve various troublesome problems that they have encountered since their arrival in Hungary. On Wednesday afternoons these people can get special assistance at the council's administrative department for problems that do not come under the council's sphere of activity.

Peace Council Protests Romanian Measures

LD2206220088 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—Further Hungarian statements were forwarded to the Hungarian news agency against the measures announced in Romania endangering the settlements of Hungarian and other nationalities living in Romania.

At its Wednesday session the National Peace Council adopted a decision that it would forward an open letter to the peace loving people of Romania.

'The Hungarian peace movement is concerned over the alarming developments in neighbouring socialist Romania. The latest measures leading to wide response and protests, the 'settlement transformation' plans, and the critical situation urges us to send a letter to the Peace-loving people of Romania without regard to nationality, in the interest of human dignity, the inter-reliance and the common will to preserve peace. Our peoples have been living together for centuries and they were set against each other only by the inciting order and the arrogance of power. The painful memories are a heavy historical burden for all of us. Reconciliation and peaceful coexistence is a just aspiration of our peoples under all circumstances. The country belongs to those who cultivated its land, settled down and made homes, and who shed blood for it. It is the fundamental right of everybody to insist on their homeland. The fraternally thinking sons of our peoples made this recognition long ago and it has since been advocated.

It is a cause for anxiety that the measures stirring up dissension are again sowing the seeds of disquiet and hate among our peoples who long for accord and mutual confidence. We are convinced that this policy is harmful for everyone and not only for the minorities. We believe that there is no Romanian, Saxon, serbian or Hungarian peace in this region, there is only a common peace, for all of us. The preservation of this peace is our common cause for peace and has no designated borders. Sober comprehension, patience and confidence is needed.

In the hope of agreement, with unchanged friendship we rely on your support and cooperation in the preservation of our common human values.' Runs the open letter of the Presidium of the Hungarian peace council.

Journalists Protest Romanian Urbanization Plan

AU2206121988 Budapest MTI in English 1926 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 20/06/1988—On Monday further Hungarian social organizations and professional unions published their stand on the settlement restructuring policy announced in Romania.

Karoly Megyeri, general secretary of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists (MUOSZ) said in his statement that the leading bodies of the association and the entire Hungarian Journalist Society are deeply concerned about the plans aimed at abolishing the settlement of Hungarians and other nationalities living in Romania. The protection of human rights and universal human values is the moral obligation of all journalists, the statement said.

The general secretary referred to the fact that at the meeting of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Romanian Communist Party last June, the Romanian Party initiated and later confirmed that a group of Hungarian journalists should study Romania's minority policy on the spot. The National Association of Hungarian Journalists announced in its earlier and recently repeated message to the Romanian Journalist Council that the group of Hungarian Journalists is ready to travel to Romania and start the work as soon as possible. No reply has yet been received.

The Association of Hungarian Film and TV artists has addressed an appeal to the world's film and television artists, organizations and the television companies to raise their voice against the elimination of Romanian villages by the authentic information of public opinion. Millions would be removed from their place of birth and their homes and forced to move to a new dwelling place. This would cause irreparable human tragedy to all inhabitants of the affected settlements. Romania's national minorities, including the most populous Hungarian population of Transylvania, would lose all chances of ethnic survival. Therefore, the association appeals to the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to urge the discussion of the issue at the United Nations Organization and the next session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as at other international forums. They should do everything possible for the protection of the minority rights of Hungarians living in Romania.

The forced unreasonable transformation of the settlement structure, which involves no economic advantage, sets the Romanian citizens and the local minorities against each other and causes political and financial damage to the entire country, says the statement of the National Board of the Federation of Technical and Natural Scientific Associations (MTESZ). Hungary's technical professionals support cooperation, democracy and the renewal of socialism where the majority guarantees and observes the rights of the national minority.

The Hungarian industrial cooperative society is shocked to learn about the measures planned in Romania to wipe out the relics of Transylvanian Hungarian popular culture and rule out the possibility for the survival of this culture, together with the Romanian and Saxonian folk culture, and its passing on to the generations living there, says the statement of the National Council of Industrial Cooperatives.

Workers' Guard Interviewed on Romanian Situation

AU2206102888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Janos Tanaszi, workers' guard in Pocsaj, parliamentary deputy, and member of the National Board of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary, by MAGYAR NEMZET reporter Illes: "We Would Not Be Pleased, Either..." date and place not given]

[Text] [Tanaszi] We, of the Romanian nationality living in the Hungarian People's Republic, feel at home here.

[Illes] Why have you deemed it necessary to say this?

[Tanaszi] I thought it was necessary because we do not feel that the measures taken against the Hungarian and other minorities living in Romania were honest. We would not be pleased either, if our villages here, inhabited by the Romanian minority, were erased from the earth. Would the Romanian Government consider such discrimination as a Hungarian domestic affair? Luckily, we are not threatened by Magyarization at any price, since we can freely use our mother tongues and pursue our culture, and we are part of the builders of the renewing socialist society.

[Illes] Are you representing only the Romanian minority in parliament?

[Tanaszi] Not at all. Out of 14 villages in the Hajdu-Bihar County constituency, only three are inhabited by Romanians. Nevertheless, I received the majority of votes against a Hungarian candidate. It would be commendable if the Hungarians were trusted in Romania, in the way we Romanians are trusted here.

Warsaw Pact's Kulikov Leaves

LD2206143188 Budapest MTI in English 1322 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—On Wednesday Viktor Kulikov, Marshal of the Soviet Union and commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty United Armed Forces, accompanied by Army General Anatoly Gribkov, chief of staff of the United Armed Forces, left Budapest after a brief working visit to Hungary. The delegation was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, and several members of the Military Council of the Defence Ministry.

Nemeth Interviewed on Talks in U.S.

LD2206150988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, gave an interview to our correspondent in Washington, Elemer Csak, before leaving for home.

[Begin recording] [Csak] The conference in which you participated on behalf of our homeland discussed East-West relations, and the situation of the world economy. What conclusions have you been able to draw? Did the participants reach an agreement on anything?

[Nemeth] It was a very useful conference, very useful for both sides and by both sides I mean it was the first time that representatives of socialist countries—Yugoslavs

and Hungarians—have also participated in this consultation. It was useful because a dialogue has evolved about all those questions and problems which characterize the world economy today, preoccupy world public opinion: technical development, the problem of debts, the relationship between armaments and their interrelations with the economy. It was also useful because we were able to better understand—as we heard—those arguments and considerations which, shall we say, fill the minds of the representatives of the Western side. And I think that it was useful for them, too, that we told them also the way we think about these issues, we see the 1990's, and the kind of world which we are going to enter in the next decade.

It was a very interesting conclusion for me, which was promulgated by many but particularly by Secretary of State Shultz in his speech. According to this speech, the most important thing is continuing the dialogue because if there is a dialogue then there is no time left for creating a situation in which the recently-begun favorable processes could turn into unfavorable ones, that is, that the cold winds should start blowing again.

I was also impressed by the way these processes were qualified. This, perhaps, cannot even be translated by using one word; its meaning is something like a cautious, considered approach and commitment in the direction of peace, disarmament, and economic cooperation. Is is very important for us and it is very interesting that economic relations should deepen because if economic links are close then this will, under any circumstances, have a long-term effect on the political and military-political atmosphere and relations. [end recording]

Nemeth Ends Visit to U.S., Comments on Talks

LD2206111288 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] New York, June 22 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, concluded his visit to the United States and left New York for home. In Washington Miklos Nemeth attended an international consultation on East-West relations and economic cooperation at the invitation of the Information Office of the United States. In Washington and New York Miklos Nemeth met representatives of the U.S. legislation and administration, senior officials of the international financial institutions and representatives of business circles.

Interviewed by the Washington correspondent of MTI, Miklos Nemeth said: the Washington consultation was attended for the first time by representatives of the socialist countries, Yugoslavs and Hungarians. It was an important and useful consultation on world economic issues of public concern, for instance technological development, the debt crisis and the relationship between armament and the economy.

It was a useful event as we could better understand the arguments and considerations of the Western side and expound our views on these issues as well.

It was a very interesting conclusion that the most important task is to continue the dialogue. We should not bring one another in a situation in which the favourable processes that have started turn into an unfavourable direction and cold winds start to blow again. I was impressed by the way these processes were qualified. This cannot be translated with one word, it involves a cautious, deliberate approach and commitment to peace, disarmament and economic cooperation. It is very important to deepen economic relations as this would inevitably have an influence on the military policy atmosphere in the long run.

The recent conference of the Hungarian party aroused keen interest during my consultations. Many of my negotiating partners said that Hungary had again become the vanguard of the reform process among the socialist countries, promoting what is called in the United States as Gorbachev's policy. It is very important that they give a realistic assessment to the Hungarian situation. In principle, there is great support for the Hungarian platform and practice. It was emphasized by some partners, however, that the Hungarian reform should be manifest not only in words but in deeds and practical action as well. If we make a good use of the possibilities, we can create, even if with difficulties and tensions, the internal conditions for this in the present international atmosphere.

In the U.S. house of Representatives Deputy Tom Lantos organized a meeting for me with members of the Foreign Affairs Commission and the sub-commissions engaged in economic and commercial affairs. They asked me what happened in the party conference, how we assess our situation and what we plan to do. I met senior staff members of the Brookings Institute, which is analysing political issues. After a short introductory paper, I received a number of questions on the same topics. I also met the president of the World Bank and the managing director of the International Monetary Fund. The aforementioned consultation attended by representatives of 38 states created an opportunity to exchange views with the delegates of other countries as well.

In New York I held talks with the leaders of three banks. As in the recent period of time the U.S. banks have been a little bit more reserved towards the Hungarian affairs. I held it important to inform them on what happens in Hungary and influence their approach. I think that Hungarian-U.S. relations will strengthen again if they see that our aims are realized in practice.

Although I did not come to the United States with the aim to prepare Karoly Grosz's visit, this issue was inevitably raised during my meetings. I experienced that the Americans are looking forward to the visit with keen

interest and make every effort so that the programme should serve the development of bilateral relations, make it possible to expound Hungary's political line and promote all what is required for strengthening East-West relations and maintaining the dialogue.

Nemeth Returns From U.S. Visit

LD2206152888 Budapest MTI in English 1500 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—On Wednesday Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, returned to Budapest after a visit to the United States from June 14 to 22 on the invitation of Charles Wick, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). In Washington he attended and addressed the international conference of USIA on global economic and commercial issues and the consequences of technical-scientific progress.

In the congress Miklos Nemeth met several members of the House of Representatives, including Dante Fascel, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and Tom Lantos. He held talks with Barber Conable, president of the World Bank, and Michel Camdessus, president of the International Monetary Fund. In New York he met Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and Israel Singer, general secretary of the organization.

The cordial discussions covered the East-West relations, and pointed out that recently conditions for the further expansion of cooperation and the promotion of internal development in certain states have considerably improved.

In New York Miklos Nemeth conferred with Carol Marks, member of the Political Committee of the U.S. Communist Party, on current issues of the international communist and workers' movement and possibilities for the development of inter-party cooperation.

Grosz Receives UK Minister of State

LD2106201288 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—David Mellor, British minister of state, Foreign and Commonwealth office, paid a visit to Hungary from June 18 to 21. He addressed the Budapest conference organized by the 100-year-old FINANCIAL TIMES newspaper on East-West economic relations, and met there Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

David Mellor held talks with his host Gyula Horn, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The parties welcomed the increasingly favourable processes of international life and confirmed the continued efforts of the two governments toward further genuine progress in the field of disarmament, international security and cooperation. They agreed that the regular high-level visits promote the development of bilateral economic cooperation, and spoke appreciatively of the latest successful talks between the prime ministers. It was stated that the Hungarian reform process enhances the interest of British industrial and financial circles in the formation of joint ventures.

The British politician met Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, Geza Kotai, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, and Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs. During the talks David Mellor was informed on the political and economic situation after the national conference of the HSWP, and the current tasks of the reform process.

Egyptian Delegation Received for Talks

LD1706114688 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 17 (MTI)—Headed by 'Ali Lufti the delegation of the Egyptian parliament met Matyas Szuros, president of the foreign affairs commission of the parliament and secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP, in the parliament on Friday.

At the cordial talks Matyas Szuros gave a briefing on the domestic situation following the party conference. He talked about the international relations of Hungary and the work of the foreign affairs commission of the parliament. 'Ali Lutfi, speaker of the Shura council of the people's assembly of Egypt, gave briefing on the work of Shura council and its foreign affairs Commission, and talked about the opportunities for extending Egyptian-Hungarian relations.

The talks were attended by Fu'ad Hamdi 'abd al-Fattah, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to Hungary.

MSZMP Central Committee Session Begins

LD2306082488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee is meeting. The session is discussing the draft task on the implementation of the thesis adopted at the MSZMP national conference, the report on openness of the work of the leading party organs, and the experience of the implementation of the electoral law and the main directions of amendments to it.

Officials Discuss Politics, Economy, Change

LD1006105488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1805 GMT 9 Jun 88

["Forum" program presented by Istvan Sandor on 9 June, with Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier, trade minister, and member of the MSZMP Central Committee; Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and PPF secretary general; and Jenoe Vancsa, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and agriculture and food minister—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Sandor] Good evening. Six weeks and a party conference have elapsed since the most recent Forum. On the most recent occasion, officials at various levels of the MSZMP were our guests. The composition of the guests have now changed. I also think that the range and topic of the questions will change somewhat.

Let us begin the introduction, in sequence according to seating and alphabetical order. I greet with affection Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier, minister of trade, and member of the MSZMP Central Committee; Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Imre Pozsgay, secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front and member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo; and Jenoe Vancsa, agriculture and food minister and member of the MSZMP Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The first question is to Comrade Marjai. In an earlier difficult economic period, your name and personal direction [keziiranyitas] somehow came very close together. Now, we are, by chance, again in a difficult economic period—what do you think of your personal direction?

[Marjai] I stated my opinion on my direction to Comrade Pinter in the television program The Week. I regret that do you not watch the rival programs. However, I clearly stated that I am a believer in specific, practical work and in timely decisionmaking, and this was necessary in 1982-83, as you have alluded. This affected many people, many institutions. Budget outlays suddenly had to be reduced or were frozen during the year; foreign currency spending has to be reduced to the minimum, and imports had to be limited.

However, this was only a temporary measure, a series of measures which we gradually lifted. Well, we ourselves did not consider it to be good, but only as a forced necessity, which we were unable to repace with anything else.

However, even then, we—I too—clearly and unequivocally stood in favor of developing the reform.

[Sandor] I am pleased that after the viewers of The Week, the viewers of Forum have been able to get acquainted with your opinion.

Miklos Nemeth, you have assumed the leadership of the economic sphere in the Central Committee at a time when the party has officially declared that it does not wish to take part in decisionmaking concerning daily economic management as much as before, or in the same way as before. Does this mean that your license, in comparison to that of your predecessors, has decreased, or changed?

[Nemeth] I would by all means answer that it has become different, but the shaping of this otherness [massag] takes a slightly longer time, since the realization of a separation. In the divison of labor, responsibility and tasks between the party and government organs is a long process; it is not done from one day to the next.

I would say that to date, as secretary, I have taken part in sessions of the Politburo with the right of consultation. In form, perhaps there has been a change; in any case, my responsibility will now be much greater. Now, with regard to this responsibility and this work process, we should like, at the level of the party body, to introduce a workstyle, a work method, which deals with the issues of strategy. We wish to maintain an economic policy which deals with the issues of working out economic policy alternatives, of having them conflict, and having opinions voiced, and this otherness by all means will also raise other requirements vis-a-vis the Politburo. We trust that this, sooner or later, will mean other task and work-style tokens. In my view, the essence is that the Central Committee must unequivocally become, let me say, a workshop which makes policy, forms policy, in the area economics. For this we want to rely more on the opinions of science, interest representations and scientific research institutes, and this also means that in the future we would like to consider things more in terms of alternatives, putting social and political effects more in the forefront.

[Sandor] Thank you very much. The fact that Imre Pozsgay was elected to the Politburo in many people's view guarantees that the highest political leaders are seriously thinking of speeding up and implementing political reforms. These people base this on the fact that previously, when there was no other forum, many opinions were worded and made public with the help of Imre Pozsgay. However, now that you are in the Politburo, collective discipline applies to you as well. If you do not consider the wording to be impolite and impudent, are you not afraid that there will be a good number of people who ask whether Imre Pozsgay has not turned from a bandit into a gendarme?

[Pozsgay] I think those who have carefully followed my work are justified in asking that question. I must add, however, that I accepted this assignment, which is an honor, in conjunction with my views and thoughts. The

conclusion I draw from this is that perhaps the Politburo has changed. Furthermore, I hope this change extends besides myself to every member of the Politburo. I accepted this role, as I accept the discipline of the Body. I will discipline my thoughts as well, in that I will continue to make responsible statements in the future too.

[Sandor] Thank you. Jenoe Vancsa has long been described by those working in agriculture as the head of the most successful and most effective lobby in Hungary, the agricultural lobby. However, recently those working in agriculture have been saying that something has happened to Jenoe Vancsa. Please excuse the expression, but he no longer represents us with the same force and effectiveness, because if he did agriculture would not be in its current situation. What do you say to that?

[Vancsa] I think a minister can also develop and perhaps his outlook may also change. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] Now for the viewers' questions. The first is by Viktor Soltesz from Debrecen to Miklos Nemeth. There are many who see the enactment of the company law as a kind of treatment of the symptoms, as a gesture of reform toward the West, you might say. To what extent will this law and the practice arising from it be able to help the economy regain its footing?

[Nemeth] I would like to stress that there is no question of a Western demand or a gesture of reform toward the West in creating this law. The contradictions of our internal development, our socialist development, the inappropriate—or to use a different expression—the ineffectiveness of assets, means, and labor are common knowledge, as we keep seeing them in newspaper reports every day. So we have not found, even taking all our reform steps and their implementation into account, a way to operate assets—socialist assets, state and cooperative assets—in an effective manner to meet current demands.

This is why we are seeking to enrich the expansion and variety of forms of ventures which unequivocally requires a more flexible adaptation to demand, to the requirements of the customer and the market. This company law [tarsasagi toerveny] will set up and develop the system of forms and means for this. But I must add that we do not wish to regard this as some campaign, nor do we regard it as a miracle cure. This will operate as the result of an organic development. Where it is required by market forces, rationality, and economic necessity, we should enable enterprises to decide independently in what form and how they bring capital and labor together.

I would add that in a certain sense we are late with this law. We are late. It would have been much much better, to take a step much earlier, after all these requirements were already contained in the mechanism of 1968 or the guidelines of the 1966 Central Committee resolution. There certainly would have been more experience and more successful economic management behind us.

[Sandor] Gyula Mor on 837-155 says in a reference to the delay of the company law that it is rumored the tax law will have to be amended already. If the company law is enacted, then it must presumably be amended again. How can a law function which is perpetually being amended? In view of this, why all the haste with the law on taxation?

[Marjai] Even at the time the tax law was announced in parliament we stressed that if after its introduction we gather sufficient experience—for it is only through the operation of a particular system that we can obtain specific lessons about the shortcomings or successes of that system—then we will introduce corrections where necessary and required by rationality. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] The next question is for two persons on the panel, Jeno Vancsa and Jozsef Marjai. The telephone caller from Kecskemet town asks on behalf of many people—and I think that the subject is now easily predictable—that yesterday and the day before too we were able to see pictures on the television newsreel programs about the demonstration in Kiskoros. In these demonstrations the vine growers took to the street because the wholesalers left them in the lurch by not buying a good proportion of last year's harvest from them. In Bacs-Kiskun county alone there are 400,000 liters of unsold wine yet in 1987 Hungary imported 900,000 liters of wine from abroad. How do these two facts square?

[Vancsa] I think it is worth talking about this because in the problems of the wine-growing sector the example of the entire Hungarian economy is reflected. What we are talking about here is no less than the fact that for decades we were able to sell Hungarian wines on a drink it or leave it basis. The entire area has become complacent, including the producer, the processor, the trader, and even the administration. Producers have not only become complacent, but the discipline in production has also relaxed. Those certain cooperation links, and they were strict, have dissolved. The contractual order and discipline have gone; speculation has surfaced—the list could go on. In addition to all this, the market situation brought a shock to the whole area. I think that many such examples could be listed from the entire economy.

As regards the specific situation, Hungarian wine stocks today match the average of many years. The problem is not that there is too much wine but that there is an uncertainty in the market. We still do not see a place in the world market for some 800,000 hectoliters of wine. In addition, domestic wine consumption has decreased by about 20 percent, at least in the small retail trade. What caused the problem, last but not least, was that the wine-processing and vine-growing enterprises and firms commissioning vine growing faced financial liquidity

problems too, and all these caused a halt in wine purchasing. I think that the examination carried out today suggests that this appeared primarily in the Alfold vine-growing area, and even within that, the Kiskoros region felt it more acutely.

As regards the tasks, we are working in two directions. We started work months ago to define the prospect, the future development and qualitative improvement tasks of the entire wine industry for the coming years starting with 1989. This work is at such a stage today that we will take it to the appropriate government committee in July. All signs suggest and all our efforts are concentrated on our making this public in July. It is a long-term task but it affects us in very many aspects: the entire program of planting vines, regional affairs, quality requirements, market analysis, quantity, and everything else. Of course we will carry out this work with regard for the Alfold region too. I would also like to mention that after we announce this program I would be happy to participate in the debate of the Alfold wine region program, in the establishment of its future, and in consultation over the immediate tasks of 1989.

[Vancsa continues] Regarding the immediate impromptu measures, our situation is not easy. We have thought of the following. We are urging further exports—this is obvious. We will perhaps be able to find markets for a few hundred thousand hectolitres. In our judgment domestic consumption also needs to be increased. Therefore, we have proposed a kind of wine price reduction. I use the phrase "we have proposed" because this possibility had existed in the wine industry even before because it was a free price category. But the truth is that the market economy in this respect is, very much, still to come. The entire area is characterized by pointing accusing fingers at each other and waiting, starting from the small producer right through to the large plant and the trader. [passage omitted] Today if you look closely you can see that everybody is only looking out for his own profit, imagining a situation of the past which no longer prevails today. He still thinks that either he makes as much money on it as he used to, or if he does not, he feels cheated and begins making demands. [passage omitted] Let me just add that we have also agreed to handle a reduction in prices together with the consumer price subsidies, i.e. the consumer tax. I spoke to the leaders of 22 plants today; they are ready to make a price concession in parallel with the consumer tax. This means that a significant price reduction may take place in the consumer market which, we hope, will take our case further.

[Sandor] Thank you. Have you, Jozsef Marjai, had sleepless nights over not being able to sell Hungarian wine abroad?

[Marjai] The truth is that for years trade has been warning seriously about the situation in the wine market abroad as well as in Hungary. Abroad, in the advanced industrial countries where wine is bought and drunk at all, there is overproduction and great competition. [passage omitted] We sell a very great volume of wine in CEMA member states and you know—this too was predictable—that wine consumption has decreased in the Soviet Union. Thus purchasing too has declined. In Hungary one reason for the reduction in wine consumption—in addition to the changes in consumer habits—is that wine is expensive. [passage omitted] Let me add that we have stopped wine imports. By the way, trade was against it last year too. And this year there will be no imports.

[Nemeth] Perhaps this...

[Sandor, interrupting] Yes, Miklos Nemeth.

[Nemeth]...regard the issue. In this problem, market and inter-market relations and effects have also played a part, in addition to what had been said here so far; namely, the contractual links and the contractual discipline or rather indiscipline, partly on the part of the state wholesalers and partly on the part of producers. The producer, in the spirit of greater profit and freedom, often did not contract with his long-standing partners. When a year comes in which there is overproduction, the state wholesalers try, and justifiably so, to buy first from those partners who were proven to be reliable and correct in the past. Well, it must be recognized that the operation of the market has such effects too. But regarding quality, and an adjustment—i.e. that the wine should be really made of grapes and that it should suit the increased market demands—we cannot do without this in the future.

[Vancsa] I would like to make a comment, though not in the interest of the producers. There is little discipline in the entire industry and insistence on the interests of the past is immeasurably great. [passage omitted] Thus, in the entire industry there is a need for creating order, to include everything, I think. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] After downing a glass of wine, Zsolt Nemes from 355-129 has a question for Imre Pozsgay. He says that he cannot quote precisely but in his recollection Pozsgay said at the party conference that the turnround had been completed by the people already. Pozsgay also said tht instead of the negative consensus a new one must be shaped. What guarantees do you see in the composition, intents, and work so far of the body of which you too, Imre Pozsgay, have become a member?

[Pozsgay] The caller has recalled quite well and precisely my thoughts. Indeed I did say this at the party conference. The people completed the turn because they felt and said that the things could not go on the same way. Quite a lot of problems, contradictions, confrontations and unsatisfied demands have accumulated in this society, and most people were convinced that the causes of these problems needed to be lived through, not merely as a punishment of one's fate, but that we have the means and possibilities to confront these. Some of these means

are in politics and politicians, and thus society and public opinion turned, from this viewpoint, to the other side and now asked and desired the creation of this condition and, on occasion, demanded it. Party public opinion and social public opinion agreed on this cause. I described this as a kind of negative consensus because it extended and focused mostly on having to break with what went on before, to deny the tools and methods applied hitherto, and on the need for a turning point.

Regarding the authority and commission of the body of which I too am a member, the Central Committee, the Politburo, I think that it was precisely one of the great acts of the party conference that it did not rule out public opinion. The conference did allow opinion to have an effect, did embrace this expression of building from below, and did decide on the reshaping of personnel conditions as much as in the reshaping of the public mood.

It would not be good to overestimate this; it would not be good to believe that henceforth things themselves too have turned around. For everyone is able to learn from what was just said now or from the people's everyday experience that the economic processes and the links and contacts between people have not improved, but the conditions for their improving have been created. I live in this confidence, and the body too is asking the country's trust for this. I know well that in today's life, accompanied by many problems in circumstances of hardship, a new leadership is not given much time for reflection and observation without activity continuing for hundreds of days. If anything can be done in this respect, it is that this leadership, the Central Committee, the Politburo, should prove its action, its readiness for initiative. As far as I know in the forthcoming resolutions and plans, the public will receive proof. And I hope for cooperation. One of the conditions of this public consensus, I think, has been fulfilled.

[Sandor] The next two questions are addressed to Miklos Nemeth. Arpad Maklari from Tatabanya and Rozalia Koos from Dunaujvaros ask: I think any promise that tries to calm the population by offering only stagnation in living standards is nothing but irresponsible. Please tell us openly how much deterioration we must anticipate, and in your view where is the final limit of the population's tolerance?

And here is the question from Dunaujvaros: We are still being promised only, in quotation marks, 15 percent inflation this year. Are you still saying this with the same conviction?

[Nemeth] I would like to say briefly that neither at the time of formulating the program for recovery [Kibontakozasi program] nor in the stabilization work program was it stated that there is a question of raising living standards in the foreseeable few years. On the contrary, both programs stated clearly that in the interest of accelerating the restructuring and acceleration of technical progress, and in order to remedy our troubles, all strata of society, almost all its groups, have to accept some degree of sacrifice to a smaller or greater extent.

This sacrifice makes sense in the way and extent in which we can divert the resources thus released, primarily not from a reduction in living standards, of course, but from the suppression of loss-making areas, from the creation of forms of wealth for more effective mobility of capital and labor.

Now if we look at the average figures, and I would not like to bore the viewers with statistics, I can say that if for example we compare the year 1987 to 1980, in that case real income per capita has risen by 110-111 percent. [as heard] This of course is a 7-8 year period. The index of per capita real wages is around 96-97 percent. So there is in fact a fall in real wages.

What must be stressed here, and in economic policy and administrative practice greater stress must be placed on this, is that everyone, individuals as well as enterprises, must be given the possibility to carry out better work of higher quality in line with increased demand, in order to lay the foundations through their work to the breakout points and extra productivity. In this respect, the role of collectives, enterprises, cooperatives—their role and responsibility—will increase in shaping living standards.

[Sandor] Does this apply to their room for maneuver?

[Nemeth] I think by the company law, for example, and by clearing out the jungle of legal regulations—in which, it must be acknowledged, we still have work to do—by putting the fundamental directions of conditions for economic management within a legal framework, this room for maneuver—or breakout points, if you like—will also expand. So much for the first question. The 15-percent inflation that we proclaimed for this year—in my judgement—it is not worth measuring things by centimeters and decagrammes, of course—can be maintained, or a situation fairly close to that will be tenable. This also shows that those who said that all hell would break loose as a result of the tax system and that we would face an accelerating inflationary process were wrong. In this, certain initiatives and steps on the part of the government played a role, but let me add that a more responsible pricing policy and pricing attitude can also be detected at enterprises. Not at every enterprise, of course, but there are now economic organizations where this applies.

In January the consumer price index stood at around 19-20 percent; in April it was around 117.5 per cent; and it seems this will show a further fall of between 0.5 percent and 1 per cent in May—in other words it will be around 116 percent. So all in all I can say that give or take one or two percentage points, we shall not change our intention to keep to this rate.

[Sandor] The next question from Gabor Sulyok, deals with the social, political, or ideological aspect of economic endeavors. The question, which is addressed to Imre Pozsgay, is as follows: For many years we have been endeavoring to carry out an economic restructuring. Wherever this succeeded in the world it was also accompanied by a significant change in the social structure. Is there a need to touch such basic ideological concepts as the worker-peasant-intelligentsia triangle, and if so, what are the consequences?

[Pozsgay] That is my opinion, too; these categories do not express social reality, and I would say that they do not accord with the ideological requirements either. What kind of ideology diverges from people's everyday experiences and which does not clarify itself in these?

The transformation of the social structure depends largely on transforming the industrial-economic structure. In every developed country it can be observed, regardless of social system, that the significance of white-collar work and white-collar workers is growing tremendously, and in accordance with this, so are their numbers. This does not mean purely intellectual work, but without question it means the ascendancy, coming to the forefront, of white-collar work.

To not take this fact into account would be such a great mistake that it would really set up a barrier to economic development, to recovery [kibontakozas].

Do we have to fear the ideological consequences of such social transformations? I also ask: Is this not what we wanted? Was this not the social objective, that such a transformation should come about?

Allow me to add something else, if it has been raised: At places where people, out of ideological considerations and political complacency, have adhered to this categorization, which in reality is not satisfactory, the final consequences of this have been seen, endured, and suffered by the economy.

I know that my answer may also prompt protests because many people, many of us—I include myself here too—have the ideological development and experience to perceive in this manner society's power structure, its relations of domination. However, if this does not work, then I will turn the question back again in this manner: A free path must be given to social transformation itself and to the thinking which can follow this transformation and not get stuck in a world of old experiences and suppositions. This also relates to human freedom, and if anywhere, then it is socialism in which it ought to be asserted, first and foremost.

That is my opinion on this. However, together with this, this question gives me the opportunity to say something else in connection with this social transformation. I am dissatisfied with the pace and the extent of transformations. I am dissatisfied because the possibility of advance, of changing our scope for maneuver, has decreased in society, as has the possibility for intellectual work to be expressed and asserted, and this is a blow to workers and peasants alike. This is a defeat for all of society. If it remains so, there will be no recovery from it.

[Sandor] Miklos Nemeth.

[Nemeth] I would like to add one or two thoughts. What Comrade Pozsgay has just said is interesting and noteworthy from the aspect of the mobility of the workforce. In Hungary, the situation generally is that if a person has learned a trade—let us talk about a worker or even an intellectual—then he practices this, does this, until the end of his life.

Well, of course there are exceptions, and this is broadening too. I saw this figuring in statistics: Our workforce, from the beginning to retirement, in general learns 1.4 [word indistinct] trades. The same figure in the United States is 3.6; in the developed capitalist countries it is, on the average, around 2.8. This must also be true of the intelligentsia, I believe. Therefore, the foundations must be somewhat better laid for social mobility, from the aspect of education and skilled training, as well.

[Sandor] So if I understoood correctly, with this you do not want to say that the difference between the two countries figuring in the comparison means a difference in intellectual sluggishness between the two intellegentsias, between the two groups of people with skilled qualifications, but rather, that the conditions are different.

[Nemeth] By no means am I alluding to that. I would allude to our tasks, in connection with this, to our educational system and so forth.

[Sandor] As the viewers have many different interests, the questions arriving are also extremely diverse. So we cannot continue one theme with further questions. Let us now have a few questions which I think can be answered relatively briefly. [passage omitted] A question for Miklos Nemeth, from a viewver on 843-146. Yugoslavia and Romania are cutting their defense spending in view of their grave economic situation. Why is Hungary not reducing defense spending, and is it at all possible to know how much money is involved?

[Nemeth] I would like to begin with the second part of the question. In 1987 we spent on defense, the armed bodies, which also includes the Interior Ministry and the Workers Guard, about 45 to 45.5 billion forints. This covered both operating costs and investment. This of course also includes items such as clothing and the building of homes for members of these bodies. In 1988 we did not increase in real terms defense or military spending, owing to the situation which has developed in our country and owing to the requirements of an internal balance. But certain international obligations within the framework of the Warsaw Pact which Hungary has

undertaken under its treaty obligations must certainly be taken into consideration. So we did not increase these expenditures, as happened in previous years, but their real value was maintained in essence. I think this will be the direction in the next 2 or 3 years too. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] Pal Farkas from Eger asks Imre Pozsgay: One hears more and more about the need to revise and perhaps modify the Constitution. How does this affect the citizen whose constitutional rights until now tended often to be no more than mere proclamations? Another question from Budapest can be added to this: In my view economic and political progress is inconceivable without a reform of the legislature. Do you agree, and if so, what do you consider to be the most urgent task in this area?

[Pozsgay] I consider the enactment of some timely laws as the most urgent task and it is also an urgent task to set about reforming the Constitution as well. We must not be hasty with the Constitution. It must be prepared in a well-founded manner, with a great deal of competence, and with the collaboration of experts in the matter. The recommendation must be submitted to the public and social approval must be obtained for a new constitution or a reformed constitution.

This constitution must have as its point of departure Hungarian traditions and experiences in constitutional law, and real contemporary social conditions. I think such work is timely. However, at present I consider the enactment of some laws as more pressing, so that citizens will not have to ask such questions in the future. There are too many declared rights [tul sok a deklaralt jog] and there are quite a few obstacles in the way of realizing these declared rights.

I shall give an example: The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic contains an article about referenda. But who can plan or organize a referendum here, as long as we have no law on referenda which could provide guidelines to the person who wants to initiate a referendum, the person who wishes to participate in the referendum? And who is responsible for it, and whom does such a decision affect?

So it can be seen here that it is no use having a declaration of the institution of referenda in the Constitution if the legal condition for the functioning of the institution does not exist. So I think one important task is the enactment of a law on referenda, which has stipulations about national referenda as well as the mechanism of local referenda.

And then, how long have we been saying that citizens capable of self-determination and initiatives are needed? This is the only resource left after these economic troubles as we have exhausted all other possibilities. But this requires a law on associations [egyesueleti toerveny], which compels both the power and the citizen to observe the appropriate rules. So it turns the association into a consensus, in which everything that is not forbidden is allowed. So the Constitution and the observance of the law can be the limit for the association. This can always be afforded by strong powers which function with the people's approval, because they are well aware that even if sometimes a citizens' conduct develops which is unfavorable to them, if it is consistent, and is based on respect for the law, both on the part of the citizen and the power, then that country functions, there is order, public order in economic management, and order in contact among people. So I think the enactment of such a law is timely.

On the other hand, we have heard just now about the protest actions, events, in Kiskoeroes, The Constitution does not ban such things, it makes them possible. I could also say that it is a fundamental right of freedom, and the rights of protest and assembly are proclaimed in the Constitution. But if it violates and limits the rights of others, then we have no rule for how it should be conducted, how it should be tolerated or, if it is not possible, how it should not be tolerated.

All these things are very timely matters and are the requirements of a social structure where at last we have made the recognition that the citizen has a right to intitiate, the right to self-determination. This is how this country will really become a state founded on socialist law. This is what I regard as a very significant requirement, and the questioners have touched on a very sensitive subject. I would not say that a reform of the legislative process must be carried out, for that would appear as though we wanted to create order among the legislators; but a reform in the legislature is needed.

Someone here—I think it was Comrade Miklos Nemeth—mentioned the maze of legal regulations, the frightening jungle which has grown out of legal regulations. I completely agree with him. This exists because we have no real legislature. A real legislature would legislate things which today we often divert in a dictatorial manner into pseudo-legal regulations, which are legal regulations in name only, and other state administration interference. So these are the things that come to my mind when I hear this question. This question pleases me because I am indeed of thesame opinion that a new movement must be started here. This is a component of the institutional reform and the political reform.

[Sandor] I do not know whether the next three questions, which are addressed jointly to Miklos Nemeth and Jozsef Marjai, will be to their liking or not. They are all about CEMA or rather the CEMA-Common Market-Hungary triangle. Mrs Zsolt Kiss asks from Cegled: It is obvious that CEMA is unviable in its present form. The member states, far from providing mutual help to each other, cause each other problems and worries. What is the greatest problem? Here is a second question: What hope is there for putting CEMA right, despite the differences in political views? Third: Is it advisable for the CEMA

member states to build on bilateral relations until CEMA is transformed? Finally, could Hungary be simultaneously a member of CEMA and the EEC?

[Nemeth] Perhaps I will make a start and then Comrade Marjai can supplement my answer. In brief, the greatest problem in the CEMA system is indeed that this is not yet a substantive integration; instead it still uses the forms and means of earlier cooperation amid the demands of the contemporary period. To some extent, this is already working against our efforts and, I dare say, also against the joint efforts of the member states. The natural outlook in our relations is still too strong, both in bilateral relations and in the community as a whole, and the mechanisms which are in accordance with commodity-money relations are not yet employed appropriately nor are the currency exchange rates, the price reforms, the tax reforms, and so on.

The direction, therefore, must be in the transformation of CEMA—and this is something that the Hungarian side has advanced consistently I think since 1971, since 1972 or 1971—that there is a need for the radical transformation of CEMA, a transformation in which mechanisms are built up and function in accordance with the laws of the market, of commodity production. In other words, the emphasis must move from bilateral relations to multilateral relations, from bilateral accounting to multilateral accounting. Naturally, this requires an appropriate financial system, that is, besides a transferable ruble a convertible transferable ruble as well. Of course, on this question we only succeeded in Budapest in formulating a unity of ideas, and even that not fully. However, at least the intention, the efforts, and the recognition have been expressed by more and more countries.

[Sandor] Excuse me for interrupting. Is this such a slow process because it would require one more thing for the acceleration of cooperation, namely that there should be a genuine functioning market in the national economies as well?

[Nemeth] Well, building the market is certainly a requirement; within this, however, since I have mentioned elements of the mechanism, I would emphasize the reform of producer prices and the internal price reforms in the various countries as the most important factors.

[Sandor] Comrade Marjai.

[Marjai] Comrade Nemeth is quite correct in saying that Hungary has been recommending and urging the realization of commodity and money relations in CEMA since 1971; it may have been more consistent in this than in doing the same at home, at least in some periods. Now, the recognition has come about—this was our impression at the Budapest conference as well—that a change is needed, which also applies to the direction of that change. An integration is required where the free flow of the factors of production, capital, and commodities can be assured. This, of course, is a long-term goal. The Hungarians also submitted specific proposals during this period with regard to the period up to 1990—until 1995—and also for the period after 1996. In the third stage this common market would also come about in this respect, with this approach.

It is perfectly true that an indispensable condition for this is that the individual national economies should develop in the direction of a socialist market economy. The price question is a key question; this is now the continuous clashing point in every cooperation effort and there are a tremendous number of problems in this sphere. We find it very difficult to make it coincide with our own efforts; there is no genuine interest, and in many respects this holds us back.

Beyond this, however, convertibility, which Comrade Nemeth spoke about, is the other indispensable requirement. A start must be made on this, at least as regards partial convertibility, which we have forwarded to CEMA in the form of specific proposals and which we shall represent at the session this summer. Without this it is not possible even to make a start on the free flow of the means of production, commodities, and services. This is not something that we can dispense with.

There is such a decision—and this is something that we have recommended more than once—bilateral agreements have come about, there are working groups in action; we must try to ensure that if we cannot realize this within CEMA at a faster rate, then two, three, or four of us, depending on what agreements we can reach, will realize the elements that we have spoken about more rapidly in separate relations between ourselves rather than within CEMA as a whole. There is a definite need for this; after all, we have lost time and there is no time left.

I would not, however, agree with the view that we cause each other more harm than good. Permit me to cite one figure: Hungary imports energy, raw materials, and semi-finished goods worth r5 billion. Were we to buy this from the capitalist markets, according to approximate calculations, this would cost us almost $9 billion. In other words, in rough figures it would require twice our present-day exports.

[Sandor] Could I have a reply in one sentence, or preferably in one word, as to whether Hungary could be a member of both CEMA and the EEC?

[Nemeth] It is obvious and everyone knows that we are a member of CEMA. As regards the EEC, we are negotiating with them on a draft agreement, which does not mean a state of classic membership—that has a different content. This is what we are working on and this is the task for the time to come.

[Sandor] Mrs Janos Hegyi from Szeged would like a factual answer from Jenoe Vancsa. It was announced this week that the World Bank is to give a loan of $80 million for the development of the Hungarian food industry. What will this money be spent on?

[Vancsa] We shall devote it to modernizing certain branches of the food industry, in particular the meat industry, the cooking oil industry, the preserves industry, and the processing industries in general. There is a very great need for realizing a high level of technology in these spheres.

[Sandor] Magdolna Kulksar from Esztergom asks Miklos Nemeth to answer the following question: I have read that certain Western governmental circles are considering working out a complex aid program, modeled on the one-time Marshall Plan, for the central-eastern European countries. How would you comment on this?

[Nemeth] Well, we have heard about it; we have also read about it and heard about this plan through various channels. The suggestion is worthy of consideration and attention. Our reply will depend on our becoming fully acquainted with it and in an official form. It has been formulated through various channels, through certain Central Committee secretaries and certain members of the government, in conversation with them. When we have learned its specific content and direction we will be able to develop our position. But we have not yet come across such a detailed concept.

[Sandor] Peter Kaufman would like Jozsef Marjai to answer the following question: I have heard that Vienna and Budapest will jointly organize a world exhibition in the nineties. What agreements have been reached so far?

[Marjai] There is a Hungarian-Austrian agreement. We held talks with the relevant Austrian minister today. We have officially and jointly announced our plan to jointly hold a world exhibition in 1995. The procedure, however, is still ahead of us. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] The following question is addressed to all of you and I hope all four of you will answer it briefly. Marian Vincze, from Gyor, asks: How do you envisage the new type of division of labor between the party, the government, the legislature, and the representational interest organs, something which is discussed high and low so much nowadays? Who will be the first?

[Nemeth] I think I said a few things in this connection at the beginning of this program. Thus, I shall answer in the economic sphere in the knowledge that I have already spoken about the directions. There is a definite need for a more precise and clearer demarcation of the tasks, where in the economic sphere the party wants to provide a better foundation for economic policy strategy, the inflow of scientific information; the government gains more independent scope for movement and action in the implementation of this economic policy; and, talking about our line, I would say that the National Assembly provides the framework and control.

[Sandor] In your view, how long will it take before this process of clarification comes to an end and becomes known to the public?

[Nemeth] Well, we have made a start on certain things, we are doing them; this will be a process; we have to learn in the meantime too, and we are sure to make mistakes as well. I would not predict a time, but there is a need to ensure that these ideas, which are present in the document of the party conference as well, are capable of functioning as soon as possible.

[Sandor] Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] I think that everything that Miklos Nemeth said about the issue may be received with agreement and can only be complemented by saying that we are talking here not only about the definition of the area of competence but also the recognition of the fact that there are no first class and second class citizens; all members of society can participate in political initiative. Thus, the party can maintain its leading role and vanguard character if it establishes a partnership with autonomous, independent organizations, if it considers this type of partnership as a standard, and if we accept together the fact that initiative can start from not only one center, one focus, and one activity, and if we accept that the benefit accruing from initiatives must be maintained by dealing with many initiatives. I think this as a very important requirement.

[Sandor] Jozsef Marjai.

[Marjai] I would add that responsibility must be defined; who, what for, and to whom one is responsible. If we do not change in this respect then this may lead us again to serious mistakes and to serious economic mistakes too. By the way, the government has a role not only in executing but also in shaping economic policy.

[Vancsa] My conviction is that administration work for the ministers is often the same as the situation of brigade leaders in a cooperative. Decisions are coming at them from two sides, so we ministers are squeezed from two sides and this is often exploited by (?administration work groups). For example, they first cause a political decision to be made and then after having determined the options they face the rest with an accomplished fact. I could go on.

I think that most change must be effected by a joint effort in the relationship of the National Assembly and the government. I think that the shaping of the parliamentary order is very important. If the parliament elects the government and appoints the ministers, then it must see it as its own government to some extent, and vice

versa the duties of the ministers too must aim at this, which means that the behavior and work of the National Assembly deputies too must change, [passage omitted]

[Sandor] Thank you. Mihaly Gabor from Diosd addresses Miklos Nemeth: Several times in your speech at the party conference you mentioned the need for party democracy. You surely know that every enterprise decision of some importance must be coordinated at more than a dozen democratic forums, and to some extent this is why a good proportion of firms were unable even at the end of April to have an approved annual production plan. Is this good?

[Nemeth] The fact that most firms did not have an approved plan by the end of April was not good in any way. Regarding the future, I must say that such a delay should not occur. However, several other factors too played a part in this. For example, the conclusion of our international obligations in interstate agreements for 1988 was much more difficult than in previous years. As I remember, we managed to sign the Hungarian-Soviet agreement at the end of February or thereabouts, if I remember correctly, and such and similar factors determined this process.

However, we must measure democracy by the number of forums, not in a formalistic way, but by the way the questions are posed, their depth, their character, and their addressee in a firm, or in general on forums authorized to decide. I think that in the economy, in democracy there is a very great need for progress because the 1966 resolution laid down such tasks. The fact that we did not implement that resolution, or only partly, was influenced greatly by our cadre policy, its practice, its weakness, counter selection, and by the fact that important decisions were not made after a debate, after having interests brought to the surface and clash. I still maintain even today that there is a need for greater openness and democracy in the economy, greater accountability, and the practice of making leaders accountable.

[Vancsa] [Passage omitted] Today in the factories, in the production sphere, these things get confused. They want to advocate democracy also in places where there is a need for work discipline. From my recent visit in the United States, I brought home a poster and did so because in the view of many, the United States practices one of the highest forms of democracy in the world. This poster I saw in one of the largest production firms...

[Sandor, interrupting] Let us translate it for the viewers: A new plan of initiative for all workers: Work or you are fired.

[Vancsa] I show this because I think that in a place where production must be organized, democracy cannot be interpreted in such a way that it is a relaxation of things, of slowing work down, of not creating the conditions—this is not the way to work. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] Imre Pozsgay wants to say something.

[Pozsgay] I want to add to what has been said and call attention to a logical link, namely that people find their freedom somewhere else if it is restricted in one place. Jenoe Vancsa's example is a very good one because it is proof that the strictest production order governs in the most liberal countries. There are no excuses there in production. But there you can live out—so to speak—the political condition you regard as necessary for yourself in a society. This is what we must turn to now, to this possibility.

We have turned things on their heads a little and established democratic institutions to blur responsibility. We proclaimed this as democracy. Obviously, things must be restored here, and it is part of the essence of true democratic decisionmaking that it is always born and always comes into existence through great resistance, because it is generated from the confrontation among interests. But it is not a matter of indifference whether someone asserts himself at the stage of implementation or at the stage when the matter is decided. We have a habit of deciding matters very quickly and of organizing the implementation with very long delays.

Then there was this saying that we make good decisions but they are not implemented. This is make-believe. This does not accord with reality and it shows that there is no responsibility for the decision. This is the relationship that must be changed and then it is not democracy that will be discredited but the institutions that are unable to function democratically. [passage omitted]

[Sandor] This question is addressed to Miklos Nemeth and Jozsef Marjai: The country's economic leadership urges the establishment of mixed companies, but Western capital does not want to enter in Hungary to an extent that matters. Do you think foreigners are frightened away by ideological considerations or is it the Hungarian market that is simply unattractive to them in a business sense?

[Nemeth] There are about 170 mixed companies in the country. I am referring to Western mixed companies, Hungarian-Western mixed companies, with a total capital, or imported capital, of some $170 million. This indicates that we cannot yet talk of a significant magnitude. Our intention is to step up the import of operating capital destined for mixed companies. I would not speak here primarily about ideological cramps on the part of the Western side, but about the system of conditions we are offering in this area. We are bureaucratic, slow. We have made improvements in many respects in this area, but not enough so far.

[Sandor] Does Jozsef Marjai have anything to add?

[Marjai] Yes. Several factors play a part in this. We are a small market. We have no possibility of opening the CEMA markets to capitalist mixed companies through

us, as the CEMA mechanism makes this impossible. There is uncertainty on the part of capital. This is, after all, not its habitual territory, and they also feel that the market economy has not reached the level where capital can really operate effectively and without any hindrance. As for the figures, I consider it at least as important that this brings a level of organization, discipline, a market and technology, that is, many things we need.

[Sandor] We have run out, not of questions but of time. My colleagues have given me a piece of paper which says that we have managed to get answers to 33 questions. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Chairs Politburo Meeting at Factory

LD2206145688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] The Party Central Committee Politburo met today at Mera-Blonie factory under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Comrades, I hereby open this Politburo meeting. At the outset I would like to thank our hosts, the management of the Mera-Blonie factory, and I welcome all the comrades taking part in the meeting.

This is a meeting with a specific purpose, concerning vital issues for our Polish economy, like diverse cooperation with the Soviet Union. In this respect we have made considerable achievements. Here are represented comrades, enterprises, and scientific and research centers having made the greatest achievements in cooperation. It will be very interesting to get acquainted with your experience. [end recording]

A debate lasting several hours concentrated on the development of direct cooperation between enterprises and scientific research units of the two countries.

Communique Issued After Session

LD2206203788 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 22: The PUWP CC Political Bureau yesterday held an away session at the Mera-Blonie precision-mechanical works to discuss the development of Polish-Soviet economic relations.

The meeting was attended by representatives of plants and scientific centres which maintain contacts with Soviet partners. The works in Blonie rank in the fore of Polish exporters to the Soviet market.

Polish-Soviet cooperation has rich achievements and good prospects for the future, reads the Political Bureau's communique. The advantageous ties between the economies of both countries allow to modernize production and the introduce the most up-to-date scientific-technical solutions, strengthening specialization-co-production ties, increasing efficiency and exports capacities.

The Soviet partner guarantees—at present and in the future—constant supplies of necessary raw materials, materials and fuels, as well as modern technology, for the Polish economy, the Political Bureau stated.

The immense, stable Soviet market opens interesting prospects for Polish exporters but the competition from renowned world companies offering products of the highest technical and technological level forces Polish plants to do their utmost to meet the challenge of the growing international economic rivalry.

The convergence of the transformations which the second stage of economic reform in Poland and the perestroyka in the Soviet Union bring about are conducive to the strengthening of fruitful contacts and integration of economic and scientific-technical efforts. Bilateral meetings, including those on the highest level, talks between party and government delegations confirm the joint will to strengthen economic ties and perfect mechanisms of cooperation.

The state of political relations, especially the good atmosphere of mutual contacts bear an exceptionally positive impact on economic and commercial ties with the Soviet Union.

The Political Bureau stated that the key tasks of the five-year plan are being fulfilled according to the set provisions. In the last three years economic and scientific-technical cooperation has been considerably enriched although not all barriers have been removed yet.

The July visit of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Poland will be conducive to another step in strengthening cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The Political Bureau acquainted itslef with information on the implementation of the long-term Polish-Soviet program of scientific-technical progress till the year 2000. The first measurable result is the modernization of production technology in a number of fields.

Direct cooperation between enterprises and other economic organizations and scientific-research units as well as the creation of joint production plants are a very promising form of cooperation. Over 200 Polish production enterprises and over 130 scientific-research centres have entered it.

The Political Bureau stated that the delays and difficulties in creating joint enterprises stem from the shortcomings of currency-financial mechanisms and the principles of creating prices as well as lack of models. The Polish side will strive to reach appropriate agreements as soon as possible. There is a need to restructure the way and mechanisms of coordinating plans and the currency-financial system. The new mechanism should permit more efficient solving of such problems as: the convertibility of national currencies and multifarious settling of accounts, rendering real exchange rates and determining a methodology of shaping ratios between national currencies and the transfer ruble as well as introducing variable rules of setting prices in mutual trade.

The Political Bureau discussed payments issues, including the repayment of Polish debt owed to the Soviet Union. The Political Bureau highly assessed the results of talks between the premiers of the government of both

countries which meet halfway the Polish proposals of solving issues of raw material supplies for the Polish economy as well as the regulation of the debt repayment.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the state of works on the concept of mutual cooperation between 1991-2005 and the coordination of economic plans for the future five-year plan.

Barcikowski Views Elections to People's Council

LD0906130188 Warsaw PAP in English
1805 GMT 8 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—What does Poland expect of the new people's councils—this question was posed by the journalists' association of the Polish People's Republic political-social journalism club to the deputy chairman of the Council of State, Kazimierz Barcikowski, who took part in a discussion in Warsaw's journalist's house here today.

Along with the development of representative teams attention must also be paid to the position of the administration, a harmonious balance between the regional and executive authorities, that is people's councils and the administration. All that will be done for the de-centralization of decisions and for people's involvement in government in their habitations will lead to an increased number of the "supporters" of the state, Barcikowski said.

Certain practical conclusions follow from this which will be expressed in, among other things, an amended law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government. Expected is, for example, the introduction of the principle of the election of the voivode by the people's council in a secret vote. Of course, this will occur through the consultation of candidates both in the voivodship council and between the council and the premier. The idea is to make the voivode and the people's council aware that this "marriage" is not eternal, that it may be dissolved in a true legal manner. If a council, controling the executive activities, reaches the conclusion that its observations are not being taken into consideration—then it may force the voivode to resign. On the other hand, by electing the voivode it takes on itself the duty of cooperating with him, Barcikowski added.

Next, Kazimierz Barcikowski referred to the approaching elections.

The elections do not excite and this was to be expected. More interest is shown in villages and small towns. The situation is worse in big agglomerations. It seems that in too many units not enough effort was put into the search for good candidates. There are, indeed, signals about the bolder candidates being ousted. Opinions on the election system are also varied. However, it must be taken into consideration that we have not finished the evolution of the election law. A matter of great significance, of which we are not always aware, is the effect of choosing among two or three candidates, Barcikowski noted.

Evaluating the first stage of the election campaign, in which candidacies of people for councillors were put forward, Barcikowski said this was a modest victory. The "primaries" did not evoke greater interest. Nevertheless, during meetings organized by organs of the self-governments of town and countryside residents and PRON cells 79,000 candidates for councillors were selected, that is over 20 percent of all nominees.

PZPR-Peasants' Party Session Views Agriculture

LD0906142888 Warsaw PAP in English
0055 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—The PUWP CC Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Chief Committee of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) held yesterday another, fifth joint session here to assess fulfillment of the resolutions of the 11th joint plenum of the PUWP Central Committee and the UPP Chief Committee and to evaluate the current situation in Poland's agriculture.

Recent years saw growing agricultural production and restoration of the food market. This corroborates the aptness of the agricultural policy principles. The policy liberated economic initiatives and a striving to achieve production growth and to modernize farms. It encouraged a growth in production capacity of industries ancillary to agriculture as well as a development of exports.

Last year's five-per-cent decline in agricultural production was caused by infavourable climatic conditions as well as by economic and structural factors.

Economic reasons consisted in a faster rise in prices for non-agricultural products, weakening profitability of production due to mounting cost as well as in irregularity of supplies and shortages of certain means of production.

Shortcomings in the development of industries ancillary to agriculture as well as of processing and storage industries, plus improper agrarian structure make up the third group of reasons for last year's worse results.

The current situation is infavourably influenced by high inflation. Underdevelopment of public and cultural infrastructure persists in the countryside.

The social and political situation of the countryside is marked by a normal pace of work, although many different obstacles and difficulties give rise to critical opinions and conclusions. A willingness to increase production and farmers' public commitment continues to be observed.

The session heard a report on operation of farmers' circles and organizations. They have complete social, political and legal conditions available to them to best represent the interests of individual farms.

The needs make it imperative, while mechanisms of the reform make it possible to expand the operation of the economic units of farmers' circles.

The session accepted a report on directions of measures taken in order to upgrade animal production effectiveness, and particularly the measures taken by the government.

The PUWP CC Political Bureau and the UPP CC Presidium underlined the obligation to consistently implement the 11th plenum's decisions as well as those solutions adopted last June which are long-term in nature. As a result of the assessment the following resolutions were adopted:

1. To accelerate restructuring of that part of national economy which is ancillary to agriculture. Money from the fund of industrial restructuring should be utilized to reinforce the potential of the industries that cooperate in food production.

2. To ensure supplies of means of production for agriculture, at least in quantites defined in the National Socio-Economic Plan.

3. To accelerate the work on lifting the limitations stemming from the over-long procedure of land turnover and integration, and to establish more favourable conditions for full utilization of land.

4. To assist development of economic, public and professional activities of farmers' circles and rural cooperatives. It was found justified to carry out this year an evaluation of the operation of the law on public and professional organizations of farmers in communes and voivodships.

5. To assess the economic situation of agriculture and to make decisions ensuring attainment of the 92:100 relation between incomes of rural and non-rural population still this year.

6. To carry, in cooperation with farmers' organizations, an indepth evaluation of the current situation in agriculture.

7. To make use of all the organizational, technical and economic possibilities of agriculture servicing units in order to efficiently conduct harvesting and to fully utilize the crops.

Plenum Examines Cadre Policy Problems

AU1606130188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 88 p 3

[Report by the PZPR Central Committee Cadre Policy Department: "Before the Seventh Central Committee Plenum—Information About Some Problems of Cadre Policy"]

[Text] 1. The discussion about problems of cadre policy, which has continued for many months, has become a crucial sociopolitical fact.

Central Committee members, many party bodies and organizations, PRON, the Consultative Council, and many experts have made valuable contributions to that discussion. Scientists, practitioners, party activists, and nonparty individuals have expressed their views and proposals in the mass media. Many letters have been received by the Central Committee, the Sejm, and government agencies. Party, election, and other public meetings have addressed these problems. The results of these contributions will be carefully used and will be developed by the seventh plenum and by further efforts to improve cadre policy.

2. People's Poland has entered a period of a radical reconstruction of the economy and of the further democratization of political conditions. Today the party's leading role should primarily denote programmatic initiative and an ability to win social backing for the policy of socialist changes.

The managing cadre bears special responsibility for realizing economic and sociopolitical reforms. Practice has demonstrated that participation by individuals in every sector of our life is most important and that the impact of individuals on changes in our reality is most valuable.

That is why the effective use of cadres is now a priority task. Carrying out changes requires knowledge, boldness, innovation, and organizational and managerial skills. What is also needed are more stringent measures to make it impossible for people devoid of the necessary organizational and creative skills to hold managing functions. This means that our party must raise its cadre requirements to a higher level.

3. The present cadre policy was outlined by the 9th PZPR Congress and was developed in 1983 by the 13th Central Committee Plenum, which adopted "The Main Principles of the PZPR's Cadre Policy." In 1984 we outlined the coalition aspects of cadre policy and practice. On 6 May 1986 the Politburo gave a deeper meaning to the principles and methods of this policy.

The Fourth Central Committee Plenum detailed the duties and tasks of primary party organizations in this regard.

The aforementioned documents defined the main criteria and procedures of selecting, evaluating, and improving cadres. The 10th PZPR Congress confirmed the correctness of these criteria and procedures.

The current realization of the 13th plenum principles of cadre policy has produced favorable results. The social base from which managers are selected has been expanded. Openness continues to increase, the democratic and collective decisionmaking with regard to appointments is practiced on a very large scale, and public views about candidates for posts continue to be taken into consideration with increasing frequency. Representative and self-government bodies continue to make many appointment decisions. The method of appointing cadres through competition is consolidating.

The departmental and local centers of further professional training continue to be expanded step by step. Forms of improving qualifications of the party apparatus and state administration employees—forms such as temporary training and practice in other echelons—have now been introduced. Those who have been given managerial appointments in the party can hold them for two terms only.

The scope of the rational rotation of cadres in various areas of the economy and public life continues to gradually increase. The law on the employees in government offices is now in force, the code of the officials' duties has been introduced, and the officials' rights and duties have been institutionalized by new solutions such as the declaration about material assets, probationary work, oath taking, appointments, and disciplinary commissions. Systems of work with cadres—systems suited to various communities—have been introduced into public-sector plants and state institutions.

However, the realization of party resolutions is still suffering from many weaknesses. Comrade W. Jaruzelski noted this at the sixth plenum: "The principles of cadre policy are good and correct but, not infrequently, their realization falters, and is criticized by the public. Various 'untouchables' are kept in their positions, while young and capable people, especially nonparty people, have to spend years and years in some obscure jobs. There is still much too little upward movement."

The current cadre practice is suffering from crucial irregularities and simplifications developed over many years. The poor use of cadres is the basic weakness. Failure to reveal and back the valuable qualities of many individuals weakens their aspirations to excel and depreciates the meaning of personal career and success in life. Most managers are industrious and praiseworthy workers, but some are incompetent and neglect their duties.

Some managers still continue to ignore modern requirements and the need for reforms. For example, they fail to disclose production reserves in the economy. Imbalance and certain gaps in the economic-fiscal system are responsible for the fact that, as a result of price hikes or changes in the assortment of goods, it is easier to show profit than to search for new technologies and to improve work organization. Some managers, who are exceedingly afraid of a repetition of the experience at the beginning of the eighties and who ignore reality, continue to avoid at any price conflict situations in their plants and succumb too easily to some workers' pressure for wage increases. Many managers continue to fail to keep abreast of the frequently changing regulations and decrees, which often curb their initiative.

Some managing cadres are still greatly attached to the central planning and running of the economy and think that in this way they can master various social and economic processes. In the old days, ensuring the maximum manageability of the entire organism of society was the main task of cadre policy in the conditions of the centralized structure of power and bureaucratized administration. This frustrated individual attempts to break out of the airtight system of formalities. This offered too little room for individual initiative, original ideas, and, still less, for justified risks. Especially talented individuals receive too little support. Many party organizations and plant managements fail to create the necessary opportunities for restless people who keep on searching for new and original activities.

Party, youth, and social aktivs were the main base of managers in the past. Nonparty individuals had little chance and were appointed as insurance or for sectarian reasons.

Formal links developed by the common past, by the same place of birth, by the same schools, work, interests, and so on, have been and are still responsible for narrowing down the social base of the best cadres. Such links throttle the flow of young and valuable people to managerial cadres, hinder positive selection of cadres, and undermine one's faith in the possibility of promotion without "sympathetic intervention."

Our people and party ranks are very much hopeful that we will be able to realize the accepted principles of cadre policy more actively and consistently and that we will go for cadres that are capable of effectively realizing the goals of the socialist reform. The time of profound changes in our country calls for this.

4. Cadre policy makes allowances for the historically developed coalition methods of government, a method that continues to prove itself in practice with increasing effectiveness.

Comrade W. Jaruzelski clearly stressed at the 10th ZSL Congress that "the system of coalition is part and parcel of the Polish model of socialist democracy and of the construction of our pluralism. This system is open to the dialogue, accord, and cooperation with all the forces and communities that profess the overriding interests of our people and socialist state."

The coalition system also denotes cooperation in realizing cadre policy. The PZPR's cadre initiative, which is being realized with its political allies, makes it possible to jointly define the requirements posed for cadres in the individual sectors of socioeconomic life, to appoint competent people with the right moral fiber to managerial posts, to charge them with specific tasks, and to evaluate the realization of these tasks openly and with justice. This calls for stimulating and intensifying the activity of the Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation at the voivodship, township, and gmina levels.

The reform of the state and the economy and the associated decentralization of powers and responsibilities throws into relief the increased role of the representative bodies of state rule.

The sixth plenum resolution favors the complete independence of the people's councils in making decisions on all matters in their own areas. This principle should be applied to cadre policy to a decidedly greater extent than is the case at present.

The trend toward more extensively employing nonparty persons in the people's councils, self-government bodies, and social associations and unions has been more pronounced in the past few years. Each citizen who enjoys public trust and is likely to be conscientious in discharging the functions entrusted to him can be sure that the party will back and assist him.

5. PRON has expressed its willingness and readiness to cooperate in shaping and realizing cadre policy and has declared that its special duty is to propose the best candidates for various government functions. This is made easier by the fact that PRON councils and echelons continue to increasingly share in proposing candidates for managerial posts, no matter what their organizational membership is and what world outlooks they profess. In line with the election law, PRON councils have been granted the right to propose candidates for Sejm deputies and people's councillors. The principle is gaining currency that PRON should be consulted on cadre changes and on including the most active individuals in the cadre reserve. This practice, which was begun at the central level, continues to bear positive results.

6. The Polish economy employs 18.5 million workers, including 12.5 million who work in the public sector. Manual jobs are held by 65 percent of all employees, and the private sector economy (excluding private farming) employs about 1.1 million workers.

In 1980-87, average employment in the public sector decreased by 2 percent. The number of manual workers decreased by 5 percent and that of nonmanual workers increased by 4 percent. The weekly working time was considerably reduced, but productivity did not increase so as to compensate for this reduction.

Demographic forecasts indicate that the population of production age will increase by over 2 million (compared with 3.5 million in 1971-85) up to the year 2000 and that the pre- and post-production groups of people will increase much more rapidly. That is why it is increasingly urgent to rationalize employment and improve work organization, productivity, and discipline.

7. The effective use of workers and manpower reserves is the foundation of rational cadre policy.

Poland has a great potential of cadres possessing high qualifications. The public sector economy employs about 1.1 million people with higher education, almost 3.4 million people with secondary education, and 3 million with basic vocational education. The last census of cadres (in 1983) showed that about 984,000 persons worked in managerial jobs—39 percent in material production and 61 percent in nonmaterial production. The number of managerial jobs dropped by 22,000 in the past 5 years.

The present deployment of cadres is not rational. In particular, a decisive shortage of cadres with higher education exists in eastern voivodships, while in central Poland there is a surplus of such cadres. In western voivodships there is a relative balance of them. The most difficult situation in this regard exists in Biala Podlaska, Bialystok, Ciechanow, Lomza, Ostroleka, Piotrkow, Siedlce, Suwalki, Tarnobrzeg, and Zielona Gora Voivodships. And, although some progress with regard to the increase in cadres with higher education can be seen in those voivodships, this progress is slow, inconsistent, and far from what it should be to meet our growing needs.

The disproportions between the structure of education and the demand for cadres by branches and regions have been intensified in the past few years. "The Report on the Situation of Cadres With Higher Education in Gminas," which was issued in January 1988, shows that in 45 percent of gminas the situation in this regard is unfavorable. For example, 20 percent of gminas have no medical specialists in stomatology and 46 percent have no pharmacists. Many rural areas are short of lawyers, economists, physicians, and teachers, which means that it is necessary to better adjust the system of training, further training, and deploying cadres for the present and future needs of individual regions of the country and the reforming economy.

Since 1983 the increase in the employment of university graduates in the public-sector economy has continued to go down by an annual average of 2 percent. One reason for this is the increased flow of cadres with higher education to the private-sector economy. Emigration of people of production age, including university graduates, is also responsible for this.

Attempts to curb emigration of people who want to earn money abroad have so far produced no major results. It is in the interest of our people and our state to ensure that young, dynamic, and educated people pursue their careers in their own fatherland and that the emigrants return home so that, exploiting their experience and material resources, they actively commit themselves to our socioeconomic life.

8. To change the ways in which our cadre policy is realized under conditions of socialist renewal, it is necessary to modify the methods by which cadres are administered. The essence of this modification is to maximally adapt the criteria and mechanisms of cadre policy to the present model and, in particular, to the proposed future model and conditions of the performance of the state, the economy, and the party.

Effectiveness of cadres must be the basic criterion for the selection and employment of cadres. This effectiveness should be measured by the results of socially useful work, that is, of work which increases the material and intellectual assets of the country. We can achieve this goal if we promote the people who are talented, highly competent, dynamic, innovative, and bold in taking risks. Young people such as skilled workers, modern farmers, and efficient engineers, technicians, and scientists, who are full of initiative and faith in their own strength, are especially valuable partners in carrying out our planned changes. Youth organizations should also have a greater say in recruiting such people.

The party will ensure that the principle that party members and nonparty people enjoy equal opportunities for vocational, professional, and social advancement is conscientiously realized. The party will also ensure that cadres are recruited in accordance with the principle that "the right man should be in the right place."

9. The party's sway over managing cadres has a dual character and continues to be exerted through:

— Political influence on the cadre decisions that are of fundamental significance for achieving the state's goals in political and socioeconomic areas;

— Ensuring that PZPR members who hold managerial posts personally account for the fulfillment of tasks in the sectors entrusted to them.

However, this does not diminish the responsibility of the official management bodies for the correct realization of the principles of cadre policy concerning the recruitment, deployment, and improvement of cadres.

The recommendations provided by the parent primary party organization and by the local echelon of a fraternal party (association) plays an important role in considering the chances of candidates for managerial posts. In the case of nonparty people, such recommendations are supplied by individuals, institutions, and organizations. However, the process by which appointments of cadres are determined by such socialized procedures has still not fully developed.

The results of the sociological research carried out by the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences among 1,000 first secretaries of primary party organizations are significant. Only just over 50 percent of these secretaries assert that their organizations actively participate in evaluating the qualities of candidates for managerial positions. About 15 percent of those organizations evaluate such candidates only occasionally, and every fifth primary party organization has still not used its statutory right to make such evaluations. Some party organizations in production plants still fail to carry out periodical evaluations of their cadres. It is also a fact that meetings held by primary party organizations do not engage in open discussions about these issues. Moreover, these organizations avoid any kind of "trouble," mostly for fear that it may affect official relationships.

10. In view of the reforms, there is a growing need for a highly qualified cadre that is capable of rapidly creating new conditions for technological, economic, and organizational progress.

Improvements are needed in the system for the application of new developments as well as material and moral incentives for creative, efficiency-oriented activity. Public opinion must consider the inventor as someone who is making a tangible contribution to the successful solving of problems in the workplace, and a person who enjoys personal, professional, public, and material success.

A problem that still remains to be solved is that of the movement of cadres between the Polish Academy of Sciences and Higher Education, between ministerial institutions and units working in the innovation and application field, that is, between science and actual practice. The system should increase efficiency in the work of units that are part of enterprises' research and development and scientific and technological infrastructures.

Knowledge of and experience in managing enterprises, institutions, offices, and teams of employees is of particular importance. Initial results are already available. There is, for example, the Warsaw Economics Workshop, the "directors' schools" in Szczecin, Wroclaw, and Biala Podlaska, the clubs for graduates, seminars on economic topics, and so on. However, this question calls for constant and more extensive cooperation between those involved in theory and those involved in practice.

A matter of great importance is that of increasing the effectiveness of the national education system. The most important shortcomings in this area include:—the lack of coordination between, on the one hand, the present education system and vocational training in particular,

and the country's development-oriented needs and the changes that are taking place on the other hand;—the absence of a cohesive system for selecting, training, and promoting particularly gifted individuals and preparing them for managerial positions in the state, the economy, science, culture, and various areas of public life, as well as for the needs of our party.

We are taking a new look at cooperation between higher and secondary education, and between educational establishments and the world of work. Higher education courses for working people are recovering their appropriate status, schools for leading workers are being reestablished, education for adults is being expanded, and the activities of the public education movement are being supported and encouraged. Workplaces should make a greater contribution to the process of educating cadres. Support should be given to initiatives aimed at reviving the public workers' and farmers' education movement, which has a long and commendable tradition in Poland.

Education is closely connected with upbringing. Particular concern has to be accorded to young people living in boarding schools, workers' hostels, and student dormitories. Efforts should be made to ensure that an appropriate upbringing is provided in places where these young people are taught and where they spend their leisure time. The time that they spend in these places should also include useful discussions.

11. There is a strong need for a clear-cut position with regard to managerial cadres in enterprises that are threatened with bankruptcy. The attainment of this objective is being aided by the extraordinary powers that were recently approved by the Sejm. They create, among other things, conditions for making essential cadre changes, for bringing to the fore people who are capable of meeting challenges, and for removing people who are ineffective, excessively lenient, and lacking in initiative.

12. Improvements in the organization of work and the structure of employment—especially in the administrative sphere—are proceeding too slowly. The center has been reorganized. The 16 ministries and offices that have been disbanded have been replaced by eight new ones, whose functions have been modified to suit tasks in the reformed economy. One of the consequences of these changes is a significant reduction in the number of internal organizational units in ministries and offices, as well as in the number of employees. Reorganization has also been used to improve the standard and quality of the work performed by the central administrative cadre. This particularly applies to selection, increasing qualifications, and greater motivation.

However, a weakness in this process was the entry of too few personnel from outside: from the economy, science, and sociopolitical aktivs. Thus, the result was that the cadre was "good, but the same," which may lead to conservative attitudes and too little receptiveness to innovation.

On the other hand, there are many plants and institutions where, despite various forms of inspiration and pressure from party echelons and organizations, work on reorganization is still at the initial stage. Thus, it is essential to speed up this work and, as a result, improve employment efficiency in the entire national economy, to eliminate the phenomenon of the "unemployed employed," and to move cadres to plant departments where labor is needed most of all, which particularly applies to the services area in a broad sense.

13. So far, about 2,000 enterprise directors have been selected under a competitive system. They are mainly people in the 45-50 age group who have worked for more than 20 years. There are few young people (about 5 percent).

A decline in interest in the competitive selection of cadres, especially in plants that are in a difficult socioeconomic situation, means that there is a need to conduct a more penetrating appraisal of current experience. This is because commissions responsible for competitive selection are setting excessive formal requirements and are doing so in an arbitrary manner. It is sometimes the case that the criteria employed eliminate candidates beforehand (for example, requirements concerning work experience or previous employment in a managerial post, and having an apartment). This applies to young people, above all.

Currently, the competitive selection system only covers enterprise general director posts. There are widespread calls for extending the system to cover other managerial and specialist posts. The social and vocational prestige of technical supervision and of those who organize production processes is still low.

14. Releasing cadre members from their posts is still frequently accompanied by sensationalism, a low standard of political behavior, and the belittling of what has been achieved so far. This gives rise to a feeling of being wronged on the part of people who deserve respect and who are leaving their posts because of ill-health or for other objective reasons.

At the same time, insufficiently resolute action is taken with respect to people who are dismissed because of incompetence, neglect of duties, and having permitted enterprise or institutions to get into a shocking state of neglect. Concern for objective assessments and their fairness and openness is a field of activity for party organizations in plants and institutes that can earn gratitude.

15. Experience indicates that management members in a significant number of enterprises fail to appreciate the importance of personnel departments. It is often the case that the predominant feature of their work is routine administrative activity, which mainly involves settling formalities connected with the employment and dismissal of employees. Insufficient attention is given to

more general cadre policy issues (recruitment, criteria employed in selection and appraisal, reviews, the cadre reserve, further qualifications for cadres, and social and vocational adjustment).

The education and professional training received by cadre cell employees is not completely satisfactory, as no more than between 10 and 20 percent have completed higher education. There are too few sociologists, lawyers, psychologists, and economists among them. More than one-fifth of cadre personnel have not completed any form of specialist training in the last 5 years. A minimal amount of use is made of opportunities to obtain assistance by way of consultations with experts and specialists, as well as former managers who have extensive specialist knowledge and experience.

There is still a lack of initiatives at branch and regional levels that would lead to the establishment of efficient professional groups that have received a good training for accomplishing their tasks, of groups of specialists in cadre affairs.

16. The party, in moving away from the administration of cadres, is displaying an increasingly active role in processes connected with the selection and promotion of people who are talented, intelligent, active, and enterprising.

The party is doing everything it can to create a modern cadre policy that suits social needs and aspirations and is characterized by:—simplicity and clarity: All the results of cadre policy, basic incentive mechanisms, administrative procedures and regulations should be easy to read and comprehensible to everyone. For example: Plant wage systems should make it easy for employees to make rapid and clear calculations concerning how much they will get for doing certain work and what will benefit them and what will not;—internal coherence: There can be no acceptance of mechanisms and processes that are contradictory and the creation of contradictory values. For example—the level of pay received by directors of enterprises that operate according to the "3-S" formula (self-management, self-reliance, and self-financing) ought to depend on an enterprise's performance;—clear cadre policy principles and criteria: the creation of an atmosphere that would ensure the realization of planned goals and tasks without unnecessary sensationalism. Those who are better and socially more useful—regardless of party affiliation—will receive preferential treatment.

17. An effective cadre policy should aid national socio-economic development and the more rapid realization of reforms.

The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum will try to find new solutions and map out guidelines for a cadre policy that will be a mainspring of reform and development and a field for healthy competition between people and the attainment of their personal goals in an atmosphere of national accord for the good of the PPR.

The PZPR Central Committee Cadre Policy Department. Warsaw 8 June 1988.

Messner Attends Market Supplies Talks

LD2206220788 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—"We are alarmed by the relatively small supply of market goods, the supplies of which at present are lower than a year ago," said Premier Zbigniew Messner opening a meeting with several-dozen directors of enterprises from the light and chemical industries and representatives of several trade enterprises.

Minister of the Internal Market, Jerzy Jozwiak, drew attention to the fact that during the five months of 1988 the dynamics of the population's monetary incomes amounted to 162 percent while market supplies (in value) to 159 percent. In reality, this difference is much greater since the amount of the goods supplies was lower than last year, whereas these disproportions were alleviated through price increases.

Out of the overall market supplies of industrial products, twenty percent are accounted for by the chemical and light industries. While the former has truly increased its production (this is visible on the shop shelves) the latter remains the market's debtor. During the first five months of the current year it supplied only 85 percent of the products supplied in the same period last year. Thus, the fulfillment of its annual plan is threatened.

At the same time, exports of clothes grew (quantitatively) by 25 percent. Exports of other light industry products also increased. It is difficult to blame producers who simultaneously widened the scope of their whole production. The majority, however, did this at a cost to the domestic market.

Minister Jozwiak recalled many of the government's decisions aimed at increasing market supplies which pertained to, among other things, the allocation of additional hard-currency resources for the purchase of production resources and materials as well as systemic solutions.

Almost every single director addressing the meeting answered questions posed by the government's representatives in a discussion which followed. Its primary goal was the concretization of the accusations made and—as far as possible—their immediate explanation. Many of the conclusions stemming from the discussion were adopted virtually off-hand—the rest will be analysed in detail.

Premier Messner stressed the government's determination in carrying out the economic reform in accordance with its assumptions and the adopted timetable. He stressed that exports were indispensable but that the

deep imbalance on the market could not be overlooked. "This is why—even at the cost of certain administrative decisions—we must protect the market," Messner said.

Premier Messner announced the acceleration of work aimed at the restructurization of the whole current tax system which should, first and foremost, stimulate increased production. He also obligated himself in the name of the whole government to take into account in all its work the proposals striving towards the elimination of the existing barriers in the functioning and development of the whole economy. This goal will be served by, among other things, further meetings with representatives of other market enterprises.

Professor Examines Reform of Local Government

PM1606104188 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 8 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Antoszewski, assistant professor at the University of Wroclaw, by Maria Dorywala; date and place not given]

[Text] [Dorywala] Perhaps it is better to entertain doubts than to keep banging one's head against a wall of impotence, so my question to you is: Will the new people's councils really exercise their authority and rule within the framework of the act that is at present being amended?

[Antoszewski] The act itself is only written on paper, so its provisions will not automatically confer power on the councils. We can also say that theoretically—despite the fact that for the past 30 years various amendments have gradually restricted the autonomy of the councils—since the seventies people's councils have formally been given more powers than they are actually ready to exercise. For example, it would be difficult to quote any significant instances of the councils protesting against their power being curtailed at the time of the closure of local industries, or at least their protests were not strong enough (except in Warsaw and Katowice) to be either noticeable or effective....

[Dorywala] It is facts and figures that count in politics, and these often show councils to be bodies which are too large to gather all their members together easily and which are mainly of a ceremonial nature: They convene several times each year at sessions which are marked by a ceremonial atmosphere of geniality, harmony, and good cheer, usually fostered by the mere fact of gathering together and the opportunity to meet important official personages.... And the remarkable thing is that this harmony is approved by both the councils and the officials....

[Antoszewski] It is also interesting that it has become generally accepted that the council should not be a forum for controversy. I am not altogether convinced by the argument that there is enough debate and controversy in the work of council commissions, where select groups of councillors decide the matters on the agenda (their decisions are often final and all the council has to do is simply approve it in an appropriate ritual), for here also officials find it easier to get the councillors to agree with their opinions. During council meetings, on the other hand, one notes fewer and fewer arguments and disputes, or, rather, virtually none. In my opinion, unless people's councils break with this celebratory, festive tradition, they cannot even begin to talk about holding any real power; on the contrary, they will be heading toward a voluntary abdication of any powers they have had. Incidentally, let me point out that the councils were originally conceived as doers rather than talkers. In line with Leninist concepts, they were supposed to be the focus of real power and provide a debating forum designed to bring to light all divergences of opinion, coordinate views and execute power through authoritative decisions. What happened instead was that in practice all decisions are made outside people's councils and council meetings have virtually become venues where only the most general resolutions are formally approved. These are subsequently worked out in detail, with very considerable discretion, by the administrative echelons...

[Dorywala] All this makes all attempts at changing this state of affairs even more important and noteworthy. To what extent are the alterations currently being introduced in the act on people's councils really definitive in breaking with the old practices? How can they offer the councils more effective chances to wield power in their own territory?

[Antoszewski] I cannot give you a definitive answer to the question whether people's councils will really wield power in their sphere of authority. I am convinced that the final word has not been said yet, because no decisive choice has yet been made in favor of one of the two courses which people's councils can take in their development program. Each of these courses presupposes different solutions and different consequences and, in effect, proposes a different reality. Advocates of the first option, which assumes full self-government powers for the local authorities, believe that villages, parishes, and towns should be granted a statutory right to self-government which would be realized in a system whereby the residents themselves nominate and elect both councillors and representatives of the administration. In this model overall state policy should stop at voivodship level. The adversaries of such solutions fear that they might generate various conflicts and even tendencies contrary to the interests of the state and damaging to the power of the state. I believe that the present weaknesses of our councils are primarily due to the fact that all the earlier legal solutions, including the most recent one, have attempted to combine elements of both models within one system—that is, they attempted statutorily to invest people's councils both with the role of local self-government and that of local authority. But in practice it is nor possible for one institution to combine these two roles fully and satisfactorily....

[Dorywala] In our next conversation we will return to the question of how and to what extent the amendments which are at present being introduced into the act on people's councils can underpin councillors' efforts to improve our living conditions.

Radom Meeting Discusses Economic Reform

LD0906154288 Warsaw PAP in English 1249 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] Radom, June 9—Foremen from over 400 work establishments all over the country are taking part in a conference in the central Polish town of Radom to discuss measures aimed at the direct application of economic reform solutions by workers at their work posts.

Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda characterized the current economic situation, stressing progress in the realization of economic tasks, increased production and more dynamic exports. Apart from these unquestionable positive tendencies, negative phenomena have been troubling the economy. Many enterprises increase pays, which is not justified by their labour productivity and production, Szalajda said.

Press Cited on Conflicts, Currency, Solidarity

AU2206131288 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 11 Jun 88 p 2

[From the "press review"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] ITD on 29 May carries an interview with Dr Marcin Krol, historian of ideas, by Mariusz Urbanski. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Krol] Perhaps some people think that a change will occur within 6 months, that the Yalta order [porzadek jaltanski] will suddenly materialize, and that colossal changes will take place. I do not expect such changes. What I am concerned for is that in our communal and political life we should begin to think far ahead and not in terms of solving the current conflict. I blame the authorities and the opposition for being interested only in casual successes— those whose significance lasts only 3, 4, and no more than 12 months. We should begin to think far ahead and come to terms with the fact that the present political system will be unchanged for at least 20 years. Only such an attitude will help us to solve the current conflicts with some measure of meaningfulness and to stop being always right and never wrong. As long as we lack a certain stability of views, current conflicts will be resolved badly or their solutions will be accidental.

[Urbanski] Stefan Kisielewski once said: "I love the PPR." Do you love it?

[Krol] No, I do not love the PPR. I just tolerate it. ODGLOSY on 28 May carries an interview with Lech Malag, deputy manager of the Lodz Treasury Chamber, by Dariusz Dorozynski. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Dorozynski] An artisan told me that for some time now state enterprises have continued to show no interest in the origins of his convertible currency when he buys production materials from them and even when he has to pay several hundred dollars for these materials. What kind of apostasy is this?

[Malag] According to present information, small-scale and short-lived apostasy. Accounts continue to be settled only at official rates of exchange, and the minister of finance has allowed the owners of private enterprises to sell convertible currencies only to the end of April 1988.

[Dorozynski] This means that now you can summon these artisans and ask them whether they get their dollars, DM, and pounds from some hiding-places, from stockings, or from a bank account....

[Malag] No, no. This is an exceptional situation. It is like PEWEX [convertible currency shops]: They do not ask anyone about the origins of one's $100 and we will take no interest in transactions concluded between enterprises and artisans who buy production materials. [passage omitted]

WPROST on 5 June carries an interview with Bernard Margueritte, French TV correspondent in Poland, by Janusz Michalak. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Margueritte] If, for example, a Pole wins the Nobel Prize, the voice of such a Pole in the discussion how to save the country must not be disregarded. I do not think this is a time for hurling insults at one another. I am terrified when I hear about the conditions under which people "from the other side" may be allowed to take the floor. I am terrified at what "the other side" says at times. For example, I have heard a Solidarity leader say: "All right, we will sink with our ship and all, but we will do this with dignity and hold our banners high." What is therefore needed is to resume the dialogue with all those who count. I think that this is necessary not only for domestic reasons—to ensure that the reform succeeds. This is also necessary to ensure that Poland's efforts to make changes are credible for foreigners.

PEN Club Letter to Jaruzelski, Malinowski

AU2206105488 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 11 Jun 88 p 7

[Letter from members of the PEN Club to W. Jaruzelski and R. Malinowski— written in Warsaw in April 1988]

[Text] To General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, and to Roman Malinowski, marshal of the PPR Sejm:

We Polish writers, editors, representatives of Polish science, and members of the PEN Club,

Convinced that the virtual absence of the PEN Club in the country's literary life and in the international arena damages national culture, disintegrates creative communities, and harms Poland's image in the world,

In the face of the stubborn aversion with which the leaderships of cultural departments view efforts to reactivate our association,

We appeal to the chairman of the State Council and to the marshal of the PPR Sejm to take a look at this absurd state of affairs and to personally help to bring back to life the Polish PEN Club without administrative interventions, which are insults to all of us.

In this connection we wish to recall that on 22 May 1985 a meeting was held in the Royal Palace under the auspices of the Council of Culture and at the personal invitation issued by Professor Suchodolski, to discuss the future of the Polish PEN Club.

After a comprehensive discussion supported by representatives of various PEN Club communities, the meeting agreed almost unanimously:

That the statutory board, which had been dissolved half way through its term by the administrative authorities, should be authorized to convene an accountability-election meeting;

That the statutory board is the only body entitled to convene such a meeting;

That the general election meeting should be convened by the statutory board as soon as possible, regardless of the fact that the period of suspension automatically prolongs the board's term.

The members of the statutory board who were present at that meeting fully backed that viewpoint and declared that they did not insist on serving for the remaining 18 months of their lawful term and, if reinstated, on convening other meetings, except those that would prepare the election meeting.

The 22 May 1985 meeting agreed that such a solution was the only possible way out of the situation and that it did not pose any objective difficulties, did not require additional legal enactments, and did not undermine anyone's prestige. The solution in question consisted in de facto reinstating the present board in order to enable it to prepare an accountability-election meeting.

Unfortunately, there was no follow-up of the Royal Palace meeting convened by the chairman of the Council of Culture. The talks with the minister of art and culture, which were conducted on their own initiative by the chairman and the vice chairman of the board in the spring of 1987 were also broken off for reasons that we prefer not to mention because of the seriousness of the matter. All other attempts to sustain dialogue on the subjects concerned were futile as well.

For the sake of the rest of the hopes we still entertain we members of the Polish PEN Club appeal to you to see that our statutory board is able to convene a general meeting as soon as possible.

We appeal for the recognition of our right to hold the normal statutory elections at that general meeting so that persons who enjoy our trust can be elected to the Polish PEN Club. We appeal for the abandonment of all administrative attempts to exert pressure and to interfere in these matters.

We ask for this in the name of the elementary norms of social coexistence in our country and of our constitutional rights and in the name of the PEN International Charter.

We are convinced that a genuine reinstatement of the Pen Club would greatly help to restore the lost climate of trust in our literary and cultural life.

Signed: Jaroslaw Abramow, Janusz Anderman, Irena Bajkowska, Henryk Bardijewski, Henryk Bereza, Jan Bialostocki, Flora Bienkowska, Andrzej Biernacki, Marian Bizan, Ariadna Bohdziewicz-Demkowska, Marian Brandys, Andrzej Braun, Ernest Bryll, Zofia Chadzinska, Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Jadwiga Chudzikowska, Helena Czajka, Barbara Czalczynska, Jadwiga Dackiewicz, Jan Dobraczynski, Andrzej Drawicz, Bohdan Drozdowski, Leszek Elektorowicz, Maria Erhardt-Gronowska, Zofia Ernstowa, Donata Eska, Boleslaw Fac, Jerzy Ficowski, Kornel Filipowicz, Zbigniew Florczak, Bronislaw Geremek, Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki, Zygmunt Gren, Joanna Guze, Julia Hartwig, Jozef Hen, Czeslaw Hernas, Jerzy Jedlicki, Irena Jurgielewiczowa, Halina Kalita, Witold Juliusz Kapuscinski, Janina Kaczmarek-Federowska, Jozef Kelera, Stefan Kisielewski, Maria Klos-Gwizdalska, Michal Komar, Jan Koprowski, Marian Kornilowicz, Maria Kowalewska, Anka Kowalska, Urszula Koziol, Janusz Krasinski, Ewa Krasnowolska, Marcin Krol, Marian Krueger, Ryszard Krynicki, Tadeusz Kudlinski, Andrzej Kusniewicz, Stanislaw Lem, Cecylia Lewandowska, Leopold Lewin, Zofia Lewinowna, Zdzislaw Libera, Anna Maria Linke, Ewa Lipska, Jan Jozef Lipski, Stanislaw Lorentz, Zygmunt Lanowski, Zofia Lapicka, Jacek Lukasiewicz, Janusz Maciejewski, Andrzej Mandalian, Antoni Marianowicz, Wanda Markowska, Ryszard Matuszewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Andrzej Micewski, Artur Miedzyrzecki, Zofia Milewska, Natalia Modzelewska, Camilla Mondral, Irena Naganowska, Egon Naganowski, Jerzy Narbutt, Olgierd Narbutt, Wojciech Natanson, Krystyna Nepomucka, Marek Nowakowski, Jadwiga Oledzka, Aleksandra Oledzka-Frybesowa, Kazimierz Orlos, Edmund Osmanczyk, Halina Ostrowska-Grabska, Jozef Ozga-Michalski, Irena Parandowska, Janusz Pasierb,

Michal Piechal, Jerzy Piechowski, Anna Pogonowska, Jan Prokop, Edmund Puzdrowski, Jozefa Radzyminska, Zbigniew Raszewski, Aleksander Rogalski, Artur Sandauer, Andrzej Sieroszewski, Jerzy S. Sito, Maria Skroczynska-Miklaszewska, Marek Skwarnicki, Wlodzimierz Slobodnik, Alicja Stern, Stanislaw Stomma, Wladyslaw Strozewski, Julian Stryjkowski, Klemens Szaniawski, Jan Jozef Szczepanski, Andrzej Szczypiorski, Zofia Szleyen, Seweryna Szmaglewska, Malgorzata Szpakowska, Ewa Szumanska [name as published], Wieslaw Szymanski, Roman Taborski, Krystyna Tarnowska, Janusz Tazbir, Wladyslaw Terlecki, Kazimierz Traciewicz. Anna Trzeciakowska, Jerzy Turowicz, Henryk Vogler, Piotr Wierzbicki, Emila Witwicka, Wlodzimierz Wnuk, Cecilia Wojewoda, Lucjan Wolanowski, Maria Wolczacka, Wiktor Woroszylski, Jacek Wozniakowski, Marta Wyka, Bohdan Zadura, Maria Zagorska, Stefan Zolkiewski, Wojciech Zukrowski, Juliusz Zulawski, Boguslaw Zurakowski, Tadeusz Zychiewicz, Jadwiga Zylinska.

Siwicki Appraises 'Shield-88' Exercises

AU1606193688 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Jun 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, made the following statement:

The principles of the defense nature of the Warsaw Pact defense doctrine were the basis of the strategic-operational concept of our exercises.

That is why "Shield-88" exercises made it possible to improve the coalition cooperation of the commands and staffs of the allied armies and to evaluate the combat prowess of the GDR, Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Polish units in fulfilling various tasks involved in modern defense.

I wish to stress that these tasks were fulfilled exemplarily and that we have acquired new experience in conducting defense operations.

The exercises were carried out under conditions of progressing detente in international relations. The improved situation is a result of the efforts of many politicians and communities. In particular, it is a result of consistent peace policy followed by the USSR and other socialist countries, including our proposal to jointly search for disarmament solutions and to increase confidence in central Europe. It is no accident that the Jaruzelski Plan was even more closely defined in the message sent to participants in the third session of the United Nations.

Together with other allied countries and conscious of the need to preserve a general balance of power, Poland seeks to create the system of security which is equal for all and which should be based on the principle that advocates lowering of the level of threat.

Efforts to ensure the inviolability of our borders and of the conditions for peaceful labors of our people in line with the principle that we must have the necessary defense force are the unchangeable goal of our Armed Forces. "Shield-88" exercises have confirmed that our country has such a force....

The presence at our exercises of Comrade Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary, State Council chairman, and commander in chief of our Armed Forces, bestowed a high status on our exercises.

The exercises had important ideological implications, because they were held in the year of the 45th anniversary of the Polish Armed Forces, which, together with the Soviet Army, regained independence for our fatherland and freedom for our people. That is why in our real ideoeducational work we used the traditions of our past struggles to deepen the modern motivational elements of soldierly service.

Orzechowski Discusses Relations With Denmark

PM2106140988 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Jun 88 p 11

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski by Michael Kuttner: "When the Sun Shines on Poland"; in Copenhagen, 15 April]

[Text] The fish were not biting when the Polish and Danish foreign ministers went out fishing yesterday. But there was sunshine from a cloudless sky, and on board the schooner "Halmoe" that had been rented for the day, neither Marian Orzechowski nor Uffe Ellemann-Jensen appeared to remember anything at all about the two Danish tourists in Poland, Jens Ellekaer and Niels Hemmingsen, who were sentenced for spying and poisoned relations between the two countries less than a year ago.

The fishing trip had been arranged by Ellemann-Jensen because during the Danish foreign minister's visit to Warsaw, Orzechowski had happened to say that he too was an angler. A few hours after the trip, the Polish foreign minister was sitting in his suite on the top floor of Hotel Scandinavia expressing pleasure that "events in the last year" have not been able to destroy the traditionally deep ties between Poland and Denmark.

The good mood of Orzechowski and Ellemann-Jensen seemed to be inversely proportional to the number of problems which still exist between the two countries. But in an interview with BERLINGSKE TIDENDE yesterday afternoon the Polish foreign minister admitted to a couple of the biggest: the balance of trade, which is more of an imbalance in Poland's favor, and pollution, which is threatening to suck the life out of the Baltic.

Marian Orzechowski linked the two problems and proposed that Denmark help Poland with environmental technology—"not gratis, because I know that Denmark's foreign debt is great, greater than Poland's, which is no great comfort to me."

But what did Orzechowski have to say about the fact that an international conference in Karlskrona last week pointed to Poland as the major polluter of the Baltic, stating that Poland makes more of a mess than all the other Baltic countries put together? What will Poland do?

"We have two possibilities," he replied. "Either we stop production at our factories and close them. Or we continue production—and the pollution. But there is a third possibility: If we are able to buy the environmental technology needed."

Marian Orzechowski does not envisage a large amount of money from the West— as certain Western countries have proposed in order to come to grips with the monster of pollution. "Initially it would be enough if the West were to remove the trade barriers which exist for large areas of environmental exports to Eastern Europe."

This was a reference to the so-called Cocom list which covers products which could be used for military purposes and which therefore cannot be sold to the East, under the terms of an agreement between Western countries.

"We intend to be involved in work for the environment, and we are spending ever greater sums of money on it, but there has to be a joint effort. Poland itself is the victim of pollution from other countries."

What about the political situation in Poland?

The domestic situation, Foreign Minister Orzechowski said, is "a domestic matter."

"Poland is asked questions that would never be asked of a Western country; for example, whether Poland's relations with foreign countries have been damaged after the strikes in Gdansk and elsewhere in May. Would you ask the British foreign secretary something like that after strikes in England, or the Spanish foreign minister after unrest in the Basque country? No, you would not, but you ask Poland," said an agitated Orzechowski, who forgot for a moment the fishing trip and the sun shining from the cloudless sky.

"But anyway, Poland's relations with foreign countries have not been damaged as a result of these strikes."

How should we interpret party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski when, as on Monday, he speaks in favor of reconciliation and promises that more independent groups will be made legal? Where is the line between what is permitted and what is not permitted? What about the group of young people who do not want to do military service or swear a Soviet-inspired oath to the flag? What about Solidarity, the banned free trade union movement?

"Every country draws the line somewhere. This is done by the legally elected authorities," the foreign minister replied. "For Poland the line is linked to the nature of the socialist system. As far as military service is concerned, it is a legal requirement in Poland, though we are considering a sort of nonmilitary community service. And as far as Solidarity is concerned, that is a closed chapter to which no one wants to return."

How are things with Poland's problematical foreign policy toward West Germany, which is still blighted by memories of World War II, and toward Israel, whose inhabitants have a remarkable attitude both to World War II and to Poland? Will Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's planned visit to Warsaw take place this year despite numerous wrangles—and when will the Poles reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel, which were broken off after the Six-Day War in 1967?

"A visit by a West German chancellor should be more than a courtesy visit. It should mark a breakthrough in German-Polish relations. The two sides are agreed on that. That is why several economic and other questions must be resolved first, but we, like Foreign Minister Genscher, are still interested in the visit taking place this year."

As far as Israel is concerned, Orzechowski said, there are no plans to expand official contacts over and above the "interest offices," set up in both countries by the two countries' diplomats last year. "But Poland is the Jews' largest national museum, and probably the world's largest Jewish cemetery, so there are close contacts between many Israelis and Poland. And the Polish Government recognizes the Israeli people's right to exist in security, in their own country. The same applies of course to the Palestinians."

The sun was still shining on the Hotel Scandinavia and the Polish foreign minister, and it was still making its influence felt at the end of the interview: "You ask whether Poland can learn anything from Denmark. We actually do learn to a very great extent—the cooperative movement is a Danish invention, as are university extension courses, and the efficiency of Danish agriculture is well known."

"And also," our Polish guest said, "the Danes' sense of realism and their down-to-earth approach are worth imitating."

Ceausescu Receives PLO's Hawatimah

AU2006183488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20/6/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on Monday, June 20, Nayif Hawatimah, secretary-general of the CC of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), who is paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the CC of the RCP.

The guest warmly thanked for the interview, for the opportunity to visit Romania and meet President Nicolae Ceausescu once again.

The secretary-general of the CC of the DFLP was highly appreciative of the RCP and Romanian State leader's permanent concern for the settlement of the situation of the Middle East and the resolution of the Palestinian question.

During the interview, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on a number of aspects of the current international life, with emphasis on the Middle East.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the principled consistent position of the Romanian Communist Party and Socialist Romania on the settlement of the issues in that part of the world, the need for everything possible to be done for a just and durable solution to the situation in the region and the establishment of a lasting peace on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to the creation of an independent Palestinian State of its own included, the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the area.

In that framework, the significance was underscored of calling an international conference, under UN aegis, to be attended by all the sides concerned, by the PLO—as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—by Israel and by the Security Council permanent members, too.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted Romania's support to the Palestinian people's just cause, its firm determination to further contribute to a political negotiated settlement of the issues in that area.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Anniversary of Relations With Israel Noted

AU1906170288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Jun 88 p 5

[T. Dumitru article: "40 Years Since the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Romania and Israel"]

[Text] These days we are marking 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and Israel. This action, which took place shortly after the proclamation of the independence of the state of Israel, is a noteworthy event in our mutual relations and an event of great importance for developing many-sided relations between the two countries and peoples. One can say that the subsequent development during these past 40 years and life itself have proved the thoroughness of such a decision, illustrated by the positive and fruitful character of the overall Romanian-Israeli interstate relations.

Hence, during this period, we witnessed many political contacts and mutual visits and meetings, including several summit meetings, which placed landmarks in the development of correct relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Israel and between the Romanian and the Israeli people. In the spirit of the decisions made at the summit level, a number of agreements on cooperation in areas of joint interest have been signed between the two countries. Economic relations, prompted by the progress of the national economies of the two countries and by the positive features of their products, have registered an upward course; economic exchanges between the two countries have increased and new directions for diversifying cooperation between them have been sought; likewise, cooperation in the fields of science, technology, tourism, culture, and other areas has expanded. No doubt the agreements and understandings that have been reached create premises to further develop Romanian-Israeli relations, in the interest of the two countries and peoples and in accordance with the general requirements to strengthen international agreements and to ensure constructive cooperation between all the countries and peoples of the world.

The evolution of the Romanian-Israeli relations strongly proves the fertile nature of the new principles for interstate relations, which are the basis for our relations with Israel as well as for the whole international activity of the Socialist Romania. These principles are: respect for independence and national sovereignty, complete equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage. Certainly, the strict observance of these principles has been and continues to be the essential and fundamental factor for cooperation and understanding.

The development of Romanian-Israeli relations in the past 40 years since diplomatic relations were established tellingly prove that differences in social system, orientation, and political actions cannot and must not obstruct the establishment of normal interstate relations. As is

well known, Socialist Romania has constantly advocated peaceful coexistence among all the countries of the world, regardless of social system, size, or geographic position and has always thought that different viewpoints and different ways of interpretation of some events or processes should not affect interstate relations and the establishment or the maintenance of those relations. On the contrary, our country has always believed and continues to believe that diplomatic relations enable the development of political dialogue, pave the way for direct contacts and talks, facilitate the open exchange of views, create an opportunity for a better mutual understanding of their positions and for establishing closer viewpoints, that is, diplomatic relations play an active role in initiating constructive dialogues and actions. This is the constant position on which Romania bases its relations with Israel, as well as with all other countries in the world.

As a matter of fact, it is well known that our country devotes importance to eliminating the hotbeds of conflict and tension in the Middle East, which cause great suffering to the people in that region and seriously endanger peace and security, not only in the respective region, but also in its close vicinity, in Europe, and throughout the world. Romania firmly speaks out for the attainment of a global, just, and lasting political settlement of the problems in the Middle East that will lead to Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in the aftermath of the 1967 war, to finding solutions to the problems of the Palestinian people, through the recognition of their right to self-determination, including the right to create their own independent state, and to ensuring integrity, sovereignty, and security for all the countries in that region, including Israel.

In promoting this position, our country proceeds from the indisputable truth that the global, just, and lasting political settlement of the problems would bring about an end to the sufferings caused by the prolongation of the conflict and would enable the Israeli and the Arab people to devote their creative energy to peaceful and constructive work and would turn the Middle East, the cradle of brilliant civilizations, into a region of peace and progress. Romania is convinced that such a position is in complete accordance with the requirements of peace and international security, with the interests of the Israeli people, and with the feelings of friendship and solidarity that the Romanian people nurture for the Arab nations.

In this spirit, Romania speaks out for increased efforts and political and diplomatic actions in the world arena, in order to achieve overall political and negotiated solutions to the situation in the Middle East. Emphasizing the topicality of such a goal, our country believes that in this respect it would be greatly important to organize an international peace conference, under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO and Israel, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council.

As is well known, this idea is gaining ground and is being shared by an increasing number of people throughout the world. Indeed, the whole international development thoroughly proves that only through political means, dialogue, and negotiations and not through war and force can solutions be found to the current conflicts and disputes and can an acceptable settlement be attained, in accordance with the real and fundamental interests of the respective nations and in keeping with the interest of peace and security throughout the world.

The 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and Israel is a new opportunity to reaffirm the joint wish to reach understandings and develop cooperation, since Romania is convinced that this is in keeping with the aspirations of the two nations and will go down as a contribution to the cause of peace, cooperation, and detente thoughout the world.

Officials at Revolution Anniversary Symposium

AU1806171888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1625 GMT 18 Jun 88

["Scientific Symposium To Mark the Anniversary of the Romanian Revolution of 1848"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 18/06/1988—A scientific symposium to mark the 140th anniversary of the Romanian revolution of 1848 was held in Bucharest on Saturday, June 18, under the aegis of the National Council for Science and Education. The event was sponsored by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Ministry of National Defence. The proceedings were attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's CC, members of the CC of the RCP and of the government, party and state activists, scientists, artists, men of letters, researchers, students, military, working people in Bucharest.

The symposium was opened by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council.

Papers were read by: Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Ion Popescu-Puturi, member of the CC of the RCP, director of the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP, Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence and secretary of the Army's Higher Political Council, Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the GTUCR [General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council, Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP,

first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, and Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The participants in the symposium expressed their high appreciation for the theses and conclusions formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, concerning the long-standing, heroic, unique and unitary history of the Romanian people, and showed them to go down as a major contribution to knowledge and understanding of the homeland's glorious past. In the spirit of that outlook, which pays homage to the forefathers's remarkable deeds, the significance of the Romanian revolution of 1848, which was deeply rooted in history, and its logical and objective character were underscored. Emphasis was also placed on the fact that the 1848 revolution was a historic moment when the ideals of justice, social and national freedom and the Romanian people's aspirations after unity, independence and progress were asserted with unparallelled vigour. The papers read on the occasion underlined the role of the masses, the deciding force of the revolution, and of the revolutionaries, who, inspired by ardent patriotism, wrote brilliant pages of steadfastness and heroism in the national history. The 1848 revolution was shown to have had a unitary character in all the three Romanian principalities, proclaiming common goals as concerned the making of deep-going changes to ease the way to socio-economic progress, to improve the whole people's working and living conditions, to achieve national unity, to create the unitary national state, to provide for the the Romanian people's assertion as a free people among the peoples of the world.

During the symposium stress was laid on the distinct character of the Romanian revolution of 1848 within the revolutionary movements of the epoch, owing to the actions taken to overthrow the old system, to the fight against foreign oppression. It was also pointed out that the Romanian people's objective requirements and vital aspirations could not be fulfilled in 1848 because of the opposition shown by home reactionary forces, because of their coalition with international reaction, which braked Romania's socioeconomic evolution, though it could not prevent the Romanian people from attaining its aspirations for freedom, social progress and a better life. The advance of the Romanian revolution was never halted. It continued in various forms and reflected in the revolutionary transformations and movements that followed: the creation of the modern Romanian national state in 1859, the winning of absolute state independence on May 9, 1877, sanctioned by the blood the Romanian soldiers shed in the antiottoman war of 1877-1878, and the formation of the unitary Romanian national state in 1918.

The speakers pointed out that in the last decades of last century, the fundamental ideas of the Romanian revolution of 1848 were taken over by the party of the working class, created in 1893, that took them to the level of its historic mission.

The papers brought to the fore the importance for the course of the revolutionary fight of the creation of the Romanian Communist Party, which, throughout its existence, identified with the people's foremost aspirations after freedom and social justice. The RCP, the continuator of the Romanian people's loftiest traditions of fight, inspired by a high sense of responsibility for the homeland's present and future, carried through an extensive political and organizational work to mobilize and rally all patriotic forces, the nation as a whole to the fight against oppression and social inequality, against fascism and war, for the revolutionary transformation of society, for progress and civilization.

The papers also showed that the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944 was the crowning of the Romanian people's fight for the homeland's independence and defence, going down as an epoch-making event in Romania's history, as it ushered in the era of socialist revolution and construction. Emphasis was placed on the Romanian people's outstanding successes in the building of the new system, more particularly, in the period opened by the Ninth RCP Congress (1965).

The symposium highlighted the remarkable socialist accomplishments of the interval, the extensive process of building a modern, powerful and harmonious economy, of continuously boosting national wealth, the lasting foundation of the homeland's independence and sovereignty. Today, Socialist Romania is a prosperous, free and dignified country where a united people, firmly determined to provide for its unswerving advance to the luminous summits of socialism and communism, lives and works.

The participants in the scientific symposium were highly appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the uninterrupted growth of revolutionary worker democracy, to the creation and improvement of the broadly democratic system, which is one of its kind and provides for the people's participation in running society, in working out and implementing the home and foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state.

At the end of the symposium, the participants sent a telegram to RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Further on Army LCY Conference

LD2306090088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Addition to item published in 22 June East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 60-67, headlined "Conference Begins," reporting on conference of Yugoslav People's Army LCY Organization]

[Text] After a daylong discussion, in which 39 out of 216 delegates took part and a number of them submitted reports on behalf of the working group, Nebojsa Tica put forth the proposed assessments and stands of this conference, stressing that the training and education of young members of the YPA was the most important task of the officers, commands, and all the organs and organizations of the LCY in the YPA.

In his words, the discussion showed that the document of the conference should place more emphasis on the need for the commitment of communists of the LC organs and organizations in the sphere of ideopolitical and theoretical work. The conference resolutely insists that the committee of the LCY organization in the YPA should manifest even greater consistency in the realization of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo. It also drew attention to the duty to adapt intranational relations to an even greater extent to social and democratic processes, as well as to the young generation.

The basic LC organizations must manifest greater influence on the work and decisionmaking of party committees and all the LC organs must consolidate their responsibility encouraging the initiative of the membership. The conference also demands that the members of the highest-ranking LC organs and delegates in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities from the YPA should be even more active in representing the proposals of Communists and all Army members. The conference, stressed Tica, points out that sociopolitical differentiation with regard to practical matters of behavior of every member and the realization of the established policy should be carried out even more resolutely in the LCY organization in the YPA.

Extraordinary Congress Idea Criticized

AU1806194788 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 88 p 3

[Tomislav Marcinko commentary: "Gambling at Other People's Expense"]

[Text] Although about 10 days have passed since the end of the LCY Conference, there is no slackening in discussions and public declarations about the reasons why this great meeting of Communists did not make a decision on an extraordinary party congress. The polarization of views in this case is also total. While the Zagreb VECERNJI LIST, for example, asks: "What do the radicals want?" meaning the Serbian delegates at the LCY Conference led by Slobodan Milosevic, where the term radical certainly has an ambiguous meaning, certain Belgrade publications seem to be very surprised that the extraordinary congress was not convened at the LCY Conference itself.

In competition with POLITIKA, POLITIKA EKSPRES, NIN, INTERVJU, and some other newspapers, DUGA went the furthest with the statement penned by its chief editor:

"While in earlier years promulgators of such ideas (of an extraordinary LCY congress) were automatically declared opposition forces, virtual enemies, so that even Spanish veterans and journalists who spread these ideas received a rap on the knuckles, the situation has gone so far that such 'heretical' ideas of a large number of the LC membership are expounded by the main man in the largest party organization in the country who is certainly one of the most popular political personalities, not only in the party but also in the whole of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic."

For the umpteenth time, Milosevic's words were cited, which POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES had once published on their front pages, that the LCY Central Committee should convene an extraordinary congress if a reform of the economic system and constitutional changes are not implemented before the end of the fall. Milosevic proposed that if, of course, it came to this, a new leadership should be elected on this occasion which would, as he said, "have the courage and ability to carry out the reform."

Recently, many people have pointed out the pitfalls of an extraordinary congress. The warnings have also been heard that "there is only a short step between an extraordinary congress and a state of emergency." There really is a lot of truth in that. Everything that is extraordinary puts at risk everything that we have created and everything we have. We have cruel firsthand experience of what states of emergency bring us, in which the Constitution, civil and political freedoms, and normal communication between regions, nations, and nationalities are suspended. Historiography has in fact marked these periods as the blackest moments in our past. This is also written in "The History of the LCY."

It seems that not everyone is aware of this. An extraordinary party congress is offered as a magical formula which will solve all worries and problems and those who oppose an extraordinary congress are called dogmatists, obstructionists, and whatever else. INTERVJU has gone the furthest in its disqualifications:

"However, something that would have given hope did not take place at the conference—there was no turnaround in the behavior of most of the leadership. Two of the best illustrations of this claim were the introductory and closing speeches by the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium."

It did not mention that the proposal on an extraordinary congress was not included in the LCY Conference stances, which is something that was opposed by only one delegate and abstained from by four, and all this against almost 800 votes supporting the fact that extraordinary action would be far more useful to us than an extraordinary congress. Could the LCY Conference be reproached for anything if one takes into consideration such a drastic result of the voting? However, now one wants to compensate for that which failed on the open stage and in full view of the widest public with attacks on the LCY Conference and the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium who, according to both our own and foreign journalists, made a very good introductory speech and directed the final plenary session in an exemplary way.

Advocates of an extraordinary LCY congress have not yet told the public that they themselves can also convene this meeting which they desire so much. No one has yet informed the wider public that the LCY Statute provides that the LCY Central Committee can call an extraordinary congress on its own initiative or at the request of the LC congress of a republic or the LC conference of a province. The LCY Central Committee is obliged to make a decision about the convening of and method of preparation for an extraordinary congress after prior consultations with the republican central committees, the provincial committees of the provinces, and the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, no later than 3 months after the request is made. The initiators of this congress suggest the agenda and the method of preparing the corresponding reports and draft documents of the LCY congress and give an explanation.

These questions are regulated by the LCY Statute which was adopted at the 13th LCY Congress 2 years ago. The proposers of an extraordinary congress have not until now mentioned the possibility that they themselves can call this meeting of Yugoslav Communists because in this case not only do they have to hold an extraordinary congress of their LC republican organization and put up several candidates for every function, including the president of the republican LC Central Committee, but they also have to prepare documents for the LCY extraordinary congress and therefore bear full responsibility for the success of the meeting.

All this indicates to us that it is far easier to gamble at someone else's expense than at one's own.

Program for Overcoming 'Crisis' Discussed

LD1806082288 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] At its session yesterday, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the draft program of the activity of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium, and its working bodies, in the implementation of the theses of the conference of Yugoslav Communists which constitute the ideopolitical basis for resolving the social and economic crisis. Proceeding from the decisions and theses of the 13th Congress and the conference, and in order to more rapidly come out of the crisis on the basis of the reform changes, restructuring of the economy, and intensifying the efficiency of the system of socialist self-management, the program obliges the Central Committee and the Presidium to give priority to the reform of the economic system, changes in the political system, consolidation of ideopolitical unity, and transformation and changes in the substance and method of the work of the LC.

Serbian LC Central Committee Expels Seven

LD2206182988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 [TANJUG]—Former President of the State Presidency of Serbia Ivan Stambolic was today expelled from the membership of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of this biggest Yugoslav Republic.

In addition to Stambolic, the highest party body also expelled six other members, among whom former Belgrade Mayor Bogdan Bogdanovic and prominent Belgrade University Professor Vaso Milincevic.

They came into conflict with the party leadership late last September, at the eighth session of the Central Committee which discussed the responsibility of the then president of the Belgrade party organization Dragisa Pavlovic. The discussion was prompted by Pavlovic's statement on the ways of dealing with problem in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo, where Albanian nationalists and separatists had continued their activity after the counterrevolutionary attempt in 1981.

At the eighth session, the majority of Central Committee members voted to expel Pavlovic from the party Presidency, while Stambolic and others were strongly criticized for upholding his views on the ways of dealing with problems in Kosovo, Yugoslavia's least developed region inhabited mostly by ethnic Albanians.

Today's session of the Central Committee also discussed a progress report on two years' work of this body, which described the eighth session as a major turning point in activity of the League of Communists of Serbia.

The report noted, among other things, that the situation in Kosovo was still difficult, which resulted in Serbs and Montenegrins migrating in (?large) numbers under pressure from the province—their share in its total population of 1.9 million had by now dropped to only 10 per cent—their petitions and their frequent visits to the Federal Assembly in Belgrade.

On 'Uncultured', 'Uncivilized' Ljubljana Meeting

LD2206173988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Pristina, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—"One could not say that this happened by chance. An unusual gathering—political-cultural—was held in Ljubljana on the eve of the conference of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. Instead of the accusation of recent frequent attacks on many officials in this republic and besmirching our Armed Forces, there was support for those who had betrayed the army secret, thus violating the existing laws of this country: Janez Jansa, David Tasic, and Ivan Bostner," states JEDINSTVO in an article to be carried in tomorrow's issue. The paper says that these three people were applauded while, on the other hand, every word said about the Army was booed. A request was also heard to abolish military courts "all in the name of democracy, but not the kind specific to our society." The paper concludes that "this was in fact the matter of abusing democracy, and even more than that."

"A great deal of what was heard and seen at the so-called political-cultural gathering in Ljubljana is recognizible from previous occasions. This time a further step was made in the attempts to alienate the Army from the people. This is one more proof, if we need any more proof at all, that some circles in Slovenia are not giving up their senseless intentions to disqualify everything in connection with the YPA and all people's defense with slander and lies. One gets the impression that the "Jansa case" is a good shield behind which poisonous arrows are launched with a definite target: to undermine the social system and the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, and weaken the defense power of the Armed Forces."

"It is high time", states JEDINSTVO, "to call a spade a spade" because what has been happening recently in Slovenia goes beyond "uncultured and uncivilized behaviour."

Maribor Enterprise Strike Continues

LD2206102988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Maribor, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—Some 5,000 workers of the Maribor TAM [vehicle assembly plant] enterprise who began a strike yesterday today have still not returned to their work places. The demands they made yesterday for a 50 percent increase in their personal income, as has already been announced, were not accepted, so the workers of this collective have today gathered again in Freedom Square in the center of Maribor.

Today they are insisting again on their previous demand, and they have also called for Republican Executive Council President Dusan Sinigoj, whom they wish to inform about the unenviable position of this collective of 7,500 employees. In fact, they demand that the Republic become involved in resolving the accumulated problems in TAM.

The assembled workers are also protesting last night's decision by the Central Workers' Council to pay the difference to all those who did not receive 32,000 dinars for their personal incomes for May. They demand a pay increase for all employees by the percentage already stated.

Macedonian Villagers Protest to SFRY Assembly

LD2206142788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2119 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—Today a group of villagers from nine villages in the vicinity of Kumanovo again came to the SFRY Assembly to protest the deliberate destruction of the walls surrounding their houses. This time the group was much larger—it was composed of 250 people. They were again received by Spasoje Medenica, vice president of the SFRY Assembly.

Their dissatisfaction was even greater on this occasion since over the last 2 days many of the walls were destroyed forcefully with the police supervising the operation. According to the villagers, their villages are virtually under blockade and they had to organize the trip secretly. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina LC Membership Figures Cause Concern

LD1606171288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Almost all municipal and even provincial LC committees will have to give serious consideration to the disturbing trends in the Vojvodina LC membership. For years, the number of people leaving the organization has been higher than the number of those joining, while last year the number of those who left the LC was almost double the number of newly enrolled members. In other words, only 3,323 new members were admitted, while as many as 6,329 communists left the organization.

At the end of 1987, the Vojvodina LC had 208,088 members, or a drop of 8,371 in comparison with the same period of the preceding year. In absolute terms this was the largest decline over the last 4 years. Despite the fact that workers amount to 33.6 percent of the entire membership of Vojvodina LC, thus giving the organization the best class-social structure within the LCY, unfavorable developments over several years continue to deepen.

The fact that of 5,662 basic LC organizations, as many as three fourths admitted not a single new member last year calls for thorough critical analysis. Over the last 2 years

half of the basic LC organization failed to admit new members, and in the last 3 years as many as 40 percent of them have had no new members. All this indicates a lack of activity and the particular insularity of these organizations. As a result of the increased number of workers leaving, the Vojvodina LC is assuming all characteristics of a "white-collar" party and is increasingly growing older. In just over a year, for instance, the number of young people (up to the age of 27) has fallen by 4,648. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Presidency Reduces Territorial Defense

LD1606223388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—At a session held today, presided over by Nandor Major, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina endorsed a proposal by the provincial headquarters of territorial defense to reduce territorial defense in the province. This was done in accordance with the stands of the SFRY Presidency on reducing territorial defense and on the condition that the country's combat capability and defense readiness not be undermined.

As pointed out in the statement from the session, the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina established that in Vojvodina there were no attacks on the system of all people's defense or the Yugoslav People's Army. Rather, full support was given to the development of the system of all people's defense and to the Yugoslav People's Army.

At today's session the participants discussed and endorsed a report on the state of defense preparations in Vojvodina. The Presidency said that preparations for all people's defense were being carried out in an organized manner and according to plan. They noted that a high degree of progress had been achieved. However, the Presidency believes that there are still differences in the degree of organization and level of preparedness of individual factors. The technical and cadre capability of local communities continues to be insufficient. This is the consequence of the shortage of funds and higher expert assistance from municipal organs. Such a situation in local communities requires greater involvement of appropriate organs in promoting defense preparations for this significant factor of the country's defense.

Defense Secretary in Bosnia-Hercegovina Talks

LD1606214488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, as part of his routine visits, today held talks in the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina with President Dr Nikola Filipovic, Presidency members, and the highest-ranking representatives of the republican organs and organizations.

Special attention was devoted to the questions of further development and capability of the system of all people's defense and social self-protection and preparations for all people's defense in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was stressed that the aims and tasks of the medium-term plan of the defense development are being realized successfully.

It was also judged that cooperation between appropriate republican organs and the command of the Srajevo Army District is developing successfully. Substantial cooperation in implementing joint defense preparations is also carried out at other levels and in other environments.

In the part of the talks about current questions of socioeconomic development, special attention was paid to the business activity and development of the special purpose industry in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This industry was said to have great significance for equipment of the Armed Forces and the overall development of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in particular for changes in the economic structure and technical-technological progress. The participants in the talks discussed questions of the further development of the special purpose industry in accordance with the needs of the Armed Forces for modern arms and military equipment and stressed the significance of scientific and research work and cadre training as the fundamental condition for its further development, a statement from these talks says.

Spokesman on U.S. F-16's in Italy

LD2206213688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2024 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia can find no understanding for the moves which contravene the processes of genuine detente and nuclear disarmament, Yugoslav Government Spokesman Aleksandar Stanic told his regular weekly press conference held today.

On the transfer of the 401st U.S. Tactical Air Force unit from Torrijon near Madrid to southern Italy, Stanic recalled that negotiations on arms reduction were in progress and said that any contribution to the atmosphere of confidence-building and cooperation was therefore welcome.

The 401st unit, containing most up-to-date U.S. fighters an [words indistinct] fighter-bombers of the F-16 model capable of carrying nuclear weapons, would be a major support to Italy's naval forces in the Mediterranean, while the medium-range nuclear missiles currently stationed at Comiso in Sicily would be scrapped.

Yugoslavia, as a Mediterranean country, is particularly interested in a consistent implementation throughout the whole Mediterranean region of the process of detente based, among other things, on the elimination of [words indistinct] of weapons, pointed out Stanic.

Anniversary of Cominform Split Previewed

LD1706095688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0030 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 17 (TANJUG)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will on June 28, at the first Soviet Communist Party conference in Moscow, stand a test on the three-year-long perestroyka of socialism, which has survived in the Soviet Union for 70 years.

On the same date, Belgrade will mark 40 years since the announcement of the Cominform Resolution, the beginning of the separation with the then universally valid and universally accepted socialism. It will sum up its own kind of "perestroyka," somewhat under 40 years old.

The theses for the Soviet communists' conference speak of an "ideological rebirth," a "revolution of consciousness," a "real pluralism of views."

For Yugoslavia, the split on June 28, 1948 meant not only an end to the implementation of the "theory of reflection" on the entire social system, but also a re-examination of its own ideas.

The split, qualified as a conflict between Rome and Byzantium, a war between Little Red Riding Hood and the wolf, was assessed by Gorbachev during his visit to Yugoslavia in March, his longest visit to a socialist country: "To speak of committed mistakes means to remove doubts and insults." He said more clearly that the "accusations against the Yugoslav leadership were unjustified."

The text of the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration stresses for the first time in the history of Moscow-Belgrade relations the first-rate importance of self-management and the role of the nonaligned in international relations, which Gorbachev spoke of as a world example. "The two sides assess that the development of socialist self-management, in accordance with the specific characteristics of each country, is of first-rate importance," the document says.

"Socialist self-management secures a true rule of the people and freedom of the individual and is a certian guarantee against administrative and bureaucratic distortions of socialism."

Thus, Yugoslavia's experience and the "orientation of the people of the Soviet Union towards the implementation of the principles of socialist self-management" should enable an exchange of experiences on current reforms and on the functioning of self-management.

The three paragraphs on self-management and the one on nonalignment contained in the document announced after Gorabchev's visit to Yugoslavia, along with the repetition of previous formulations that relations between the two countries are founded on the "unconditional respect of the paths and specific forms of the development of socialism" and that "no-one has a monopoly on truth," closed the circle opened in 1948.

The Soviet Union gave Yugoslavia 90,000 documents and 500 lists with the names of Yugoslavs who were victims of Stalin's purges. The Soviet Union promised that it would finally open a Yugoslav cultural center in Moscow.

Recently, the first theoretical explanation of 1948 came from Moscow. In the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, historian Vladimir Zelenin, who first visited Yugoslavia in 1944 with General Korneyev's mission, says that all accusations against Yugoslavia were a fabrication.

In the article, titled "Lessons of the Past—for the Future," Zelenin says that "it can be concluded from all that was said in the Cominform Resolution that the principle of the independence and equality of parties was crudely and absolutely rejected. In this way, the basic Marxist-Leninist stand on the respect of different paths in the building of socialism was negated."

Zelenin concludes that in 1948, "Soviet citizens were not objectively informed about Yugoslavia, where extremely interesting processes of seeking solutions for the building of socialism were developing, of which the most important is self-management. Yugoslavia had actually taken and resolutely defended its own position in the building of socialism."

Yasir 'Arafat Arrives in Belgrade

LD2206164388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—At the invitation of the SFRY Presidency, Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, arrived today for a working and friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

At Belgrade airport, 'Arafat was met by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Vukoje Bulativic, member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia; and other personalities.

During 'Arafat's visit, it is expected that a comprehensive exchange of views on the most recent developments in the Middle East situation and on possibilities for finding peaceful and just solutions to the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question will be carried out.

In light of the fact that 'Arafat arrived after the recently held extraordinary summit in Algiers, it is expected that the Yugoslav-Palestinian dialogue at the top level will also include decisions adopted at the Algerian meeting.

An important part in the dialogue certainly will be concerned with the question of the further development of bilateral cooperation and joint involvement in starting a peace process in the Middle East.

According to the agenda of the visit, Yasir 'Arafat and Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will start an exchange of views tomorrow.

During his visit, 'Arafat also will meet Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

On his visit to Belgrade the leader of the Palestinian revolution is accompanied by Muhammad Milhim and Sulayman Najjab, members of the PLO Executive Committee; Bassam Abu Sharif, 'Arafat's adviser for information; and Akram Haniyah, adviser on questions of the occupied territories.

Mikulic, Strougal Toasts at Belgrade Dinner

AU2206083788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jun 88 p 7

[CTK report: "Effort To Change the Quality of Cooperation"]

[Text] Toward the end of the first day of the visit paid by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to Yugoslavia, Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY, gave a festive dinner in his guest's honor.

In addition to the CSSR premier's entourage, it was attended by Mito Pejovski, member of the SFRY Federal Executive Council; Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign trade; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY; and other Yugoslav officials.

In the course of the dinner, Lubomir Strougal and Branko Mikulic delivered speeches.

From Branko Mikulic's Speech at the Festive Dinner [subhead]

In his speech at the festive dinner, Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY, underscored that the visit paid by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to Yugoslavia provides an opportunity both for expressing the feelings of deep sympathy for friendly Czechoslovakia, and for assessing views on the further possibilities of intensifying mutual relations and cooperation and considering the roads leading toward this. I am convinced that it is in our common interest to provide new incentives and contents for this cooperation, he stressed. He went on to say:

On the present occasion I want to recall with satisfaction the traditional friendship, trust, and understanding linking the people of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. We have common ideals of freedom, independence, progress, and peace in the world. We also have a common historical fate; and it is sufficient to recall the sufferings of our peoples in the past in order to grasp why we defend peace today.

The links between our peoples are based on deep cultural and historical contacts. Many of our prominent scientists and artists studied and created in Czechoslovakia. We also cherish the contribution made by many Czechs and Slovaks to the development of science and culture in Yugoslavia. The citizens of Czech and Slovak nationality living today in the SFRY are playing a significant role in strengthening our mutual relations of understanding and friendship. It is impossible not to recall on the present occasion our common struggle against fascism during World War II, and the part played by Czechs and Slovaks in the units of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army. We are proud of the Jan Zizka brigade.

Our friendship is also strengthened by the many Czechoslovak tourists travelling to Yugoslavia every year. On the other hand we know that our people like to travel to Czechoslovakia.

Your visit to the SFRY is taking place at a time when the peoples of our two countries are striving to accelerate the rate of development (so as to acquire a corresponding place in the present world, with all the changes evoked by the scientific-technical revolution). This effort is opening up new prospects for intensifying our cooperation. Good friends are always happy about each other's successes. That is also why we in Yugoslavia welcome, and are glad of, the Czechoslovak people's successes in building socialism.

We note the significant successes in our mutual relations—in our cooperation, based on the jointly adopted principles of equal rights, independence, sovereignty, noninterference, and respect for our different roads of socialist construction and our different international positions. The CSSR is one of the SFRY's most important economic partners. We are increasingly implementing new and higher forms of collaboration—cooperation and specialization. However, we believe that a lot more can be achieved in this respect.

We must make more rational and efficient use of the existing realistic conditions and possibilities. It is also important to see to the enforcement of new forms of cooperation, and of direct links between our production organizations, built on stable and long-term foundations.

Socialist, nonaligned Yugoslavia is developing energetic international cooperation on the basis of well-known principles, thus continuing Tito's policy and consistently promoting it via the nonaligned movement in the United Nations, in Europe, in the Mediterranean, and in the Balkans—in all places where it can contribute toward resolving the topical problems of the present world and where it can join the struggle to preserve peace, achieve disarmament, and foster just political and economic

relations based on equal rights. In line with these principles we welcome the reopening of the dialogue on disarmament, which has taken on a concrete shape in the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This strengthens the hopes of reaching a stable peace and starting an irreversible process of armament limitation in all spheres.

We feel alarmed by the fact that the positive development of international relations has not yet made any impact on the complicated economic problems of the present world. The constructive North-South dialogue has not yet begun; deep as it is, the immense abyss between the developed and developing countries (increasingly plagued by the heavy burden of debts) is becoming deeper and deeper. In our view, a solution of the problems of indebtedness can be found only if conditions are established for a more rapid economic development of insolvent countries.

We attach particular significance to the follow-up meeting of CSCE signatories in Vienna, where we are striving to strengthen the atmosphere of trust and to create a uniform system of European cooperation and security in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki.

The bitter experience of the past commits us to help promote (without any hesitancy or prejudices) military-political detente in Europe and turn our continent into a reliable factor of world progress and stability. This precisely was the purpose of international conferences and meetings held in the SFRY in the past period.

I am convinced that our meeting and our exchange of views will also aid the further successful development of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations and provide conditions for peace, understanding, and international cooperation based on equal rights, Branko Mikulic said.

From Lubomir Strougal's Speech at the Festive Dinner [subhead]

We have come to Belgrade for our brief, businesslike negotiations at an extraordinary time, when our two countries are mobilizing the best forces of their people for significant changes (significant in the broadest sense of the word). We want to rebuild our political and economic systems, provide them with dimensions commensurate to our times and to the scientific-technical revolution, and give them deeper democratic contents in the way that has been typical of socialism since its inception—in the way demanded by its profoundly humane ideal and made feasible by its human and economic resources. That is why our meeting is so extremely significant, and why we expect great things from it. In fact, we are in a friendly, traditionally fraternal country, with which we are linked both by historical ties and by a mutual understanding in all basic issues. These sentiments are also expressed in the cordial greetings sent by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, by Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and by the Federal Government—greetings which I hereby convey to you.

If we want to accomplish all the commitments adopted at the 17th CPCZ Congress and the subsequent Central Committee sessions, which are similar to your goals after the national LCY conference, we cannot avoid critically assessing the results of our mutual cooperation. We must also frankly tell each other what we want to develop further, and how, and what means and roads we want to pick for this. In fact, the comprehensive, and certainly advantageous, Czechoslovak-Yugoslav cooperation undoubtedly merits that we expand it in a well-considered manner, supplementing its methods and forms on the basis of the well-proven principles of equal rights and of respect for our paths of socialist construction.

If we are concerned today with changing the quality of our mutual cooperation, contributing to deeper understanding, asserting new principles which are beginning to prevail in relations between the states, and promoting full respect for the multifaceted roads taken by the peoples toward socialism, then we can no longer be satisfied with the usual statements on how high-level and successful our political contacts are, and how real our achievements in the cultural, scientific, and other kinds of exchange are.

Our economic contacts hold a special place in all this. We have said on many occasions (and it is appropriate to repeat it again), that Yugoslavia is our big, reliable partner, with whom we are glad to cooperate. In this respect we have abandoned the traditional forms long ago: we now have a very broad exchange of cooperation and specialization, our economies are complementary in terms of raw materials for the needs of our industries, and we provide each other with quite a respectable number of services in transportation and tourism. It would be stating the obvious to mention the importance of the Adriatic for the health and reinvigoration of our citizens. To tell the truth, the Adriatic has been the Czechs' and Slovaks' most favorite seaside since time immemorial.

Nevertheless we cannot stop halfway, especially since the trade turnover is growing at a much slower rate and the number of problems with the deliveries of technical equipment (and of engineering products in general) has increased. Here, too, we cannot but seriously ponder the situation; if we want to fulfill the intentions formulated in the Long-Term Program of the Development of CSSR-SFRY Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Through the Year 2000, we cannot avoid adopting resolute measures. The philosophy of modern economic cooperation requires new approaches, but also a much more resolute adopting of decisions.

The fact that our friendly and, I would say, totally meaningful meeting (which began today and which will continue tomorrow) is taking place in an atmosphere of realism and of acts of goodwill in solving the burning issues of the future of our planet, this fact fills us with deep joy.

The recent Soviet-American meeting in Moscow has confirmed that common sense is gaining the upper hand in the solution of international problems, and that the treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles (concluded last year) could be the beginning of a peace chain leading to a total ban on all nuclear weapons. The hope has been born that the treaty on the elimination of 50 percent of strategic weapons will be signed in the nearest future, that all chemical weapons will be removed, and that the strengths of conventional weapons will be cut down to a much lower level needed solely for defense. It seems that we have embarked on the road leading toward understanding and trust among the peoples. This road will be neither short, nor will it lack obstacles; but the route has already been mapped out, in the interests of mankind, in the interests of a peaceful future.

In this connection it is most important to have not only the great powers, but also the medium and small countries contribute to the peace process. Surely everybody is of consequence, in making it possible for the new approaches to win and to change into better-quality relations. That is also why the Czechoslovak Government, too, is greatly involved in pushing through the matter of achieving partial disarmament steps and of proclaiming zones and corridors free of nuclear and chemical weapons. This involvement also includes our latest proposal on the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact states and NATO.

In this sphere we fully appreciate the role played by Yugoslavia in the international arena, in the Balkans, in the Nonaligned Movement, and lately also at the follow-up meeting in Vienna, which is currently faced by the need to make a weighty decision on expanding the European peace dialogue—and expanding it without any limitations—to all cooperation baskets.

We have decided to achieve a more rapid progress in cooperation between socialist Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. We have made many good resolutions; the only thing that remains to be done is to fill them with deeds, and to do so in the interests of our friendship, in the interests of socialism and of peace in Europe.

Greek CP Secretary in Belgrade for Talks

Received by Tupurkovski

AU2106140488 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Greek Communist Party, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, yesterday morning held talks in Dubrovnik with Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, about the activities of the two parties and the most important issues concerning international relations.

Holds Talks With Krunic

LD1706181388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1428 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 17 (TANJUG)—Balkan and Mediterranean progressive parties and movements have an important role in stimulating positive processes, resolving the open questions and turning the Balkans and the Mediteranean into regions of peace and constructive cooperation, president of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Bosko Krunic and Communist Party of Greece (KKE) General Secretary Kharilaos Florakis underscored in their talks in Belgrade today.

The recently held first LCY conference strongly confirmed its commitment to the reform of the economic and political systems along the line of consistently implementing the system of socialist self-management, underscored Krunic, who informed his guest on the current developments in Yugoslavia. He particularly emphasized the conference's unanimous commitment to democracy and renewal of the LCY aimed at strengthening its ideologico-political role in society.

Florakis said that the current tasks of the Communist Party of Greece are: the introduction of progressive changes in Greece's socio-economic and political life, improvement of the position of the workers, development of democratical relations and the rallying of the left parties in order to overcome the existing rifts.

Assessing that the cooperation between the LCY and the Communist Party of Greece had a great significance for nurturing the two countries' traditional friendship, Krunic and Florakis expressed readiness to further promote the two parties' cooperation.

Dizdarevic Receives New Envoys

GDR Ambassador

LD1706120788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—Today Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received letters of credence from Siegfried Bock, newly appointed GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the SFRY, and held a friendly conversation with him.

Finnish Ambassador

LD1706125988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—Today Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received letters of credence from Jorma Kalervo Inki, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the SFRY. After this, President Dizdarevic held a friendly conversation with Ambassador Inki.